CHARLES I. KING OF ENGLAND.

His Sufferings and Death, with Truth proclaim;
For He got Glory, but the Nation Shame.

ENGLAND's
BLACK TRIBUNAL.

CONTAINING,

I. The compleat Tryal of King *Charles* the Firſt, by the pretended High Court of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, begun *January* 20, 1648. Together with His Majeſty's Speech on the Scaffold, erected at *Whitehall-Gate*, on *Tueſday*, *Jan.* 30, 1648.

II. The *Loyal Martyrology:* Or, A perfect Relation of the Sufferings and Death of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, who were inhumanly ſacrific'd for their Loyalty to their Sovereigns King *Charles* I. and II. Together with their ſeveral *Dying Speeches.*

III. An *Hiſtorical Regiſter* of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, who were ſlain in Defence of their King and Country, during the *Unnatural Rebellion;* begun in 1641.

IV. The *Loyal Confeſſors:* In a brief Account of the moſt eminent Sufferers, by Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or in Eſtate, for the Cauſe of His Sacred Majeſty.

The Seventh Edition, very much enlarged.

To which is added,

An Hiſtorical PREFACE, by a True Churchman.

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JOHN
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JOHNSON

THE

PREFACE.

IT hath been a common Obſervation, even to a Proverb, though a right Uſe hath rarely been made of it, *That what is beſt and moſt excellent in its Uſe, becomes the worſt and moſt pernicious in its Corruption and Abuſe:* Our Rights, Liberties and Properties are ſecured to us by the Laws; and where there are good Laws, and thoſe good Laws in good Hands, there either is no Wrong done, or a ſpeedy Remedy; ſo that there is no-where ſuch comfortable and ſafe living, as where juſt Laws are put in Execution by righteous Judges: But when the Senſe and true Meaning of the Laws is perverted, when they are made uſe of contrary to their Ends and Deſigns, to ſerve wicked Purpoſes, when they are managed by corrupt Judges, or ſeized by unjuſt Powers; then, what was intended for our Security, becomes our Deſtruction; and not only Mens Liberties and Eſtates, but their very Lives are taken away, under the Plea and Colour of thoſe Laws, which were originally and truly deſigned for their Protection and Preſervation.

We have known the beſt of Kings, in the open Face of the World, with the impudent Pageantry and Pretence of Juſtice, contrary to all Law, Juſtice, and Piety, by his own Subjects, in cool Blood, ſolemnly butchered at his own Palace Gate; the chiefeſt and beſt of his faithful Subjects pick'd out to be made publick Sacrifices; thouſands ſlaughter'd, ſo that the Na-

tion was made little better than a common Shambles: The reſt haraſſed, impriſoned, ſequeſtred, fined, till they were undone, and at length come to that deſperate bloody Debate, that, had not one *ſingle Vote* turn'd the Scales, it had been reſolv'd to maſſacre every Mother's Child that had any thing of Honeſty or Loyalty remaining in them. And after all this, they were not ſo demure Villains, as only to wipe their Mouths, and ſay they had done no Hurt, but openly vaunted, that they had wrought a bleſſed Reformation; call'd it fighting God's Battles, when it was againſt his Anointed: Plundering and Robbery, was ſpoiling the *Egyptians*; murdering faithful Subjects, was bringing Delinquents to Juſtice; as if the altering the Names could change the Nature of Things, the moſt ſanguinary Actions, and unparallel'd Villanies, they endeavoured to ſanctify with the Style of carrying on the Cauſe of God and Religion; as if Religion could juſtify the utmoſt Impiety; and God could be pleaſed with what Hell would bluſh at.

There were alſo many who were Enemies to the Church, as having ſacrilegiouſly enriched themſelves with her Lands; and others there were, who had an Eye upon the Remainder, and long'd for her Ruin upon no Account ſo much, as that they might be Sharers in the Spoils. Theſe generally joined themſelves to the Puritanical Party, and made it their Buſineſs to encourage and protect their Miniſters and fiery Zealots againſt both Church and State; and by this they got the Name of Patriots, and Lovers of their Country, among all that were diſaffected to the Government, which now began to be the prevailing Part of the Nation; and this Itch of Applauſe ſo ſtuck to them, and their Poſterity, that Enmity to the Government, like original Sin, was tranſmitted from the Parents to the Children, and became hereditary to the Families. From theſe, and other Things which might

be

be obſerv'd, I fear it may be too truly ſaid, That the Scene of the Son's Ruin was lain in the Reign of the Father.

They were unmoveable in their rebellious Reſolution, their Meaſures were concerted, their Partizans numerous, they had wriggled themſelves into many Offices of the greateſt Power and Truſt, and now wanted nothing but Opportunity, and ſomething fit to head them for ſuch a deſperate and damnable Undertaking. To this End, they ſet their Hearts upon a Parliament, which, if good, is the Glory and Security of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; but if bad, is able at any time to embroil, if not overthrow it. They were now become ſo confident of carrying their Deſign, that ſome could not forbear to own it, and where they could not perſuade, endeavoured to terrify Men into their Party. About the Year 1635, which was ſome Years before the War broke out, Mr. *W. P.* after better known by the Title of Colonel *P.* in Diſcourſe with a Gentleman whom he was deſirous to bring over to them, told him plainly, That he ſhould live to ſee the Time, that there ſhould be no King in *England*. Many of the Lords, to the Diſgrace and Prejudice of their Order (for what muſt become of Honour, when the Fountain of it is dried up?) were already too much Encouragers and Abettors of them. But their great Buſineſs was to model a Houſe of Commons for their Purpoſe; for this End, they uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to get ſuch elected for Members, who were, as they pretended, not in the Court, but the Country's Intereſt, but really and truly ſuch as they knew to be Enemies to the Government and Conſtitution; and at laſt they gain'd that Point alſo; and what followed thereupon, many living can yet remember, and many Families feel to this Day. A large Hiſtory would not be ſufficient to ſet forth all their Ravages and Barbarities; the following Accounts

of

of the inhuman Proceeding in their pretended Courts of Juſtice, may ſerve for a ſhort Specimen of the good Nature and Piety of thoſe pretended Saints; but the Bulk of them are enough to amaze, if not exceed the Belief of Poſterity.

Their implacable Malice extended not only to the King, and his Family, but to all his Adherents; and thoſe who eſcap'd with their Lives, were ſequeſtred, fined, impriſoned, and from time to time ſo haraſſed, that many ancient and flouriſhing Families had ſcarce Bread to eat; nay, they laid their griping Hands not only upon thoſe who had borne Arms, but upon ſuch whom they only ſuſpected not to be cordial to them; and it was Cauſe enough of Suſpicion, if they had not appeared zealouſly for them: If any ſuch had a *Criminal Eſtate*, it was ſufficient to make them *Guilty*; witneſs the Caſe of the Lord *Craven*, whoſe large Poſſeſſions were ſeiz'd and ſold for a Song, and divided among their *Partizans*, tho' all the time he had been beyond the Seas, and acted on neither Side: the only Crime I could learn alledg'd againſt him at that time, was, that King *Charles* II. then beyond Sea, accidentally commending a Horſe of his, he had made a Preſent of it to him.

It would be endleſs to reckon up the various and villainous Artifices, whereby they ruin'd Men in their Eſtates and Fortunes, whoſe Lives they could not reach without Damage to themſelves, and uſing ſuch Barbarity as was never heard of; and how, under Colour of eſtabliſhing *Religion*, *Liberty*, and *Property*, they took away all *Three*; deſtroyed the beſt eſtabliſh'd Church in the World; made Men little better than *Slaves*, and ſubjected every Man's *Property* to their *Arbitrary Will and Power*. But tho' it be uncomfortable to dwell longer on this melancholy Theme, yet it may not be amiſs to try what good Uſe we can make of it; for the profitable, induſtrious *Bee*, with its pretty

pretty Chymiſtry, will draw Honey from the ſame Herb whence the *Spider* ſucks *Poiſon*; and a wiſe, good Man will make ſome Advantage to himſelf, from the worſt of Evils committed by others.

He that had ſeen or known the pious King *Charles* I. and the moſt Rev. Archbiſhop *Laud*, both of bleſſed Memory, us'd like Scoundrels, with all the Contempt and ſpiteful Treatment imaginable, and at laſt openly and inſultingly murder'd, and *Cromwell* and *Bradſhaw* grow great by Villainy, tyrannize over all Perſons, proſper in their Undertakings, live to a conſiderable Age, and at laſt die quietly in their Beds, muſt certainly think (if he ever did ſeriouſly think) that this could not be the End of all Things with them; but will be forced to conclude, either that a Hearing of theſe Things ſhall hereafter be brought before the *Juſt God*, or conſtrained to aver (what the Fool durſt only preſume to ſay in his Heart) *That there is no God.* It may ſeem a very hard Caſe, that a notorious Sinner ſhould be cloathed in Purple, and fine Linen, and fare ſumptuouſly every Day, whilſt a good Man, like *Lazarus*, is over-run with Sores, or borne down with Afflictions: But when in another State, the good Man ſhall be refreſhed in *Abraham*'s Boſom, and the ſometime ſucceſsful Sinner ſhall cry out in Hell for a *Drop of Water to cool his Tongue*, and receive no other Anſwer, but, *Remember, Son, that thou in thy Life-time receivedſt thy good Things, and likewiſe* Lazarus *evil Things; and therefore now he is comforted, and thou art tormented*; it will appear, that the Proſperity of the Wicked, was their greateſt Unhappineſs, and the Sufferings of the Saints only, an Augmentation of their Glory.

It may perhaps ſeem needleſs to add, That when Men have ſorely ſuffered by ill Practices, and wicked Inſtruments, and have once been delivered and freed from

from them, it ſhould awaken and rouſe their Care and Courage to fruſtrate ſuch wicked Deſigns, and prevent their falling under the like evil Circumſtances again: It hath been a Proverbial Saying, *That Experience is the Miſtreſs of Fools.* I ſuppoſe that the meaning of it is, not that *Experience* teacheth *only Fools*, but that it is able to make *even Fools wiſe*; for otherwiſe, the wiſeſt of Men muſt own *Experience* for their *Miſtreſs*, as well as Fools: For he muſt be a Miracle in Nature, or have more than human Aſſiſtance, who, conſidering the Difficulties of the World, can be wiſe without any manner of Experience. But as for thoſe who will neither be taught by Experience, nor learn by any Harms to beware, they are ſo much worſe than Fools, that I am at a Loſs for a Name by which to call them. When a *Sailor* hath ſuffered by a lamentable Shipwreck, and in the End almoſt by a Miracle eſcap'd, if after he hath *felt* and *known* the Danger, and how to avoid it, he will nevertheleſs *twice* ſplit upon the ſame Rock, inſtead of pitying him, Men will be apt to ſay he deſerved to be drowned. He that hath been burnt, will ſurely of Courſe dread, and take Care to ſecure himſelf againſt Fire; but as for him who will take Warning from no Harms, all Advice is in vain beſtow'd upon him.

England's Black Tribunal:

Set forth in the

TRIAL of King CHARLES the First,

BEFORE THE

Pretended HIGH COURT of JUSTICE, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, begun on *Saturday*, *January* 20, 1648.

OFFICERS of the COURT.

JOHN BRADSHAW, *Preſident.*
ISAAC DORISLAUS, } *Counſellors who drew*
Mr. ASKE, } *up the Charge*, &c.
Mr. COOKE, *Solicitor-General.*
Mr. BROUGHTON, } *Clerks of the Court.*
Mr. PHELPS, }
Mr. DANDY, *Serjeant at Law*, *Mace-bearer*, &c.
Colonel HUMPHREYS, *Sword-bearer.*
Mr. WALFORD, }
Mr. RADLEY, }
Mr. PAIN, } *Tip-ſtaves and Meſſengers.*
Mr. POWEL, }
Mr. HULL, }

The Firſt Day's Proceedings.

ON *Saturday*, being the 20th Day of *January*, 1648, the Lord *Bradſhaw*, Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice, with about ſeventy of the Members of the ſaid Court, having Colonel *Fox*, and ſixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword

borne by Colonel *Humphreys*, and a Mace by Serjeant *Dandy*, with their, and other Officers of the ſaid Court marching before them, came to the Place ordered to be prepared for their Sitting, at the Weſt End of the Great Hall in *Weſtminſter*; where the Lord Preſident, in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, fixed in the Midſt of the Court, placed himſelf, having a Desk, with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him; the reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each Side of him, upon the ſeveral Seats, or Benches, prepared and hung with Scarlet for that Purpoſe, and the Partizans dividing themſelves on each Side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus ſet, and Silence made, the great Gate of the Hall was ſet open, to the end that all Perſons, without Exception, deſirous to ſee or hear, might come into it; upon which the Hall was preſently fill'd, and Silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Thomlinſon*, who had the Charge of the King, as a Priſoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who, within a Quarter of an Hour's Space, brought him, attended with about twenty Officers, with Partizans marching before him, there being Colonel *Hacker*, and other Gentlemen, to whoſe Care and Cuſtody he was likewiſe committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the Face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him ſtrait to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was ſet for the King. After a ſtern looking upon the Court, and the People in the Galleries on each Side of him, he places himſelf, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwiſe ſhewing the leaſt Reſpect to the Court; but preſently riſes up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the Left-ſide, and on the Multitude of Spectators on the Right-ſide of the ſaid Great Hall. After Silence made

among

among the People, the Act of Parliament for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court, who ſat on one Side of the Table, cover'd with a rich *Turkey* Carpet, and placed at the Feet of the ſaid Lord Preſident, upon which Table was alſo laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the ſaid Act, the ſeveral Names of the Commiſſioners were call'd over, every one who was preſent riſing up, and anſwering to his Call.

The King having again placed himſelf in his Chair, with his Face towards the Court, Silence being again order'd and proclaim'd; the Lord Preſident, in the Name of the Court, addreſs'd himſelf to the Priſoner, acquainting him,

That the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation (which are fixed upon him as the principal Author of it) have reſolved to make Inquiſition for Blood; and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Juſtice, to God, the Kingdom, and themſelves; and according to the fundamental Power that reſts in them, they have reſolved to bring him to Trial and Judgment; and for that Purpoſe have conſtituted this High-Court of Juſtice, before which he was then brought, where he was to hear his Charge, upon which the Court would proceed according to Juſtice.

This ſaid, Mr. *Cook*, Solicitor-General for the Common-wealth (ſtanding within a Bar on the Right-hand of the King) offered to ſpeak; but the King, having a Staff in his Hand, held it up, and laid it upon the ſaid Mr. *Cook*'s Shoulder two or three times, bidding him him hold: Nevertheleſs, the Lord Preſident ordering him to go on, Mr. Cook did, by Order of the Court to him directed, in the Name, and on the Behalf of the People of *England*, exhibit a Charge of

High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, and did therewith accuſe the ſaid CHARLES STUART, King of *England*, praying it might be read; which the King interrupting, the Court, notwithſtanding, commanded the Clerk to read it, acquainting the Priſoner, That if he had any Thing to ſay after, the Court would hear him. Whereupon the Clerk read the Charge, the Tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.*

A CHARGE *of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the* High Court of Juſtice, *by* John Cook, *Eſq; appointed by the ſaid Court, for, and on the Behalf of the People of* England, *againſt* Charles Stuart, *King of* England.

'THAT he, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, being admitted King of *England*, and therein truſted with a limited Power, to govern by and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; and by his Truſt, Oath and Office, being obliged to uſe the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked Deſign to erect and uphold in himſelf an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; yea, to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Redreſs and Remedy of Miſ-government, which by the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the People's Behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Council; he, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, for Accompliſhment of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelf, and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the ſame End, hath traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied War againſt the Parliament, and the People therein repreſented.

'Parti-

'Particularly, upon or about the 30th Day of *June*, 'in the Year of our Lord 1642, at *Beverly* in the County 'of *York*; and upon or about the 30th Day of *July*, in 'the Year aforesaid, in the County of the City of *York*; 'and upon or about the 24th Day of *August*, in the same 'Year, at the County of the Town of *Nottingham* '(when and where he set up his Standard of War) and 'upon or about the 23d Day of *October*, in the same 'Year, at *Edge-hill*, and *Keinton-field*, in the County of '*Warwick*; and upon or about the 30th Day of *Novem-*'*ber*, in the same Year, at *Brentford*, in the County of '*Middlesex*; and upon or about the 30th Day of *August*, 'in the Year of our Lord 1643, at *Caversham-bridge*, 'near *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*; and upon or 'about the 30th Day of *October*, in the Year last-men-'tion'd, near the City of *Glouceſter*; and upon or about 'the 30th Day of *November*, in the Year last-men-'tioned, at *Newbury*, in the County of *Berks*; and 'upon or about the 31st Day of *July*, in the Year of 'our Lord 1644, at *Cropredy-bridge*, in the County of '*Oxon*; and upon or about the 30th Day of *September*, 'in the last Year mention'd, at *Bodmin*, and other Pla-'ces near adjacent, in the County of *Cornwal*; and upon 'or about the 30th Day of *November*, in the last Year 'mention'd, at *Newbury* aforesaid; and upon or about 'the 8th of *June*, in the Year of our Lord 1645, at the 'Town of *Leiceſter*; and also upon the 14th Day of 'the same Month, in the same Year, at *Naseby-field*, 'in the County of *Northampton*. At which several 'Times and Places, or most of them, and at many 'other Places in this Land, at several other Times, 'within the Years afore-mention'd, and inthe Year 'of our Lord 1646, he, the said *Charles Stuart*, hath 'caused and procured many Thousands of the Free 'People of the Nation to be slain; and by Divisions, 'Parties, and Insurrections, within this Land, by 'Invasions from foreign Parts, endeavoured and pro-

'cur'd

'cur'd by him, and by many other evil Ways and 'Means, He, the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath not only 'maintain'd and carried on the ſaid War, both 'by Land and Sea, during the Years before-men-'tioned; but alſo hath renew'd, or caus'd to be 'renew'd, the War againſt the Parliament, and good 'People of this Nation, in this preſent Year 1648, in 'the Counties of *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, *Middleſex*, and 'many other Counties and Places in *England* and '*Wales*, and alſo by Sea: And particularly, He, the 'the ſaid *CHARLES STUART*, hath, for that Pur-'poſe, given Commiſſion to his Son the Prince, and 'others, whereby, beſides Multitudes of other Perſons, 'many ſuch as were by Parliament entruſted and em-'ploy'd for the Safety of the Nation, being by him or 'his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Truſt, 'and revolting from the Parliament, have had Enter-'tainment and Commiſſion for the continuing and re-'newing of War and Hoſtility againſt the ſaid Parlia-'ment and People, as aforeſaid. By which cruel and 'unnatural Wars by him, the ſaid *CHARLES* '*STUART* levied, continued, and renew'd, as afore-'ſaid, much innocent Blood of the Free People of this 'Nation hath been ſpilt, many Families have been un-'done, the publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted, 'Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decay'd, vaſt Ex-'pence and Damage to the Nation incurr'd, and many 'Parts of the Land ſpoil'd, ſome of them even to 'Deſolation.

'And for the further Proſecution of his ſaid evil 'Deſigns, he, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, doth ſtill conti-'nue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, and other 'Rebels and Revolters, both *Engliſh* and Foreigners, 'and to the Earl of *Ormond*, and to the *Iriſh* Rebels 'and Revolters aſſociated with him; from whom fur-'ther Invaſions upon this Land are threatned, upon the 'Procurement, and on the Behalf of the ſaid *Charles* '*Stuart*.

"All

'All which wicked Deſigns, Wars, and evil Practices of him, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, have been, and 'are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of a 'perſonal Intereſt of Will and Power, and pretended 'Prerogative to himſelf and Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, common Right, Liberty, Juſtice and 'Peace of this Nation, by and for whom he was in-'truſted, as aforeſaid.

'By all which it appeareth, That he, the ſaid '*Charles Stuart*, hath been, and is the Occaſioner, 'Author, and Contriver, of the ſaid unnatural, cruel, 'and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Trea-'ſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Deſolati-'ons, Damage, and Miſchiefs to this Nation, acted or 'committed in the ſaid Wars, or occaſioned thereby.'

And the ſaid *John Cook*, by Proteſtation, ſaving on the Behalf of the People of *England*, the Liberty of exhibiting, at any Time hereafter, any other Charge againſt the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, and alſo of replying to the Anſwers which the ſaid *Charles Stuart* ſhall make to the Premiſes, or any of them, or any other Charge that ſhall be ſo exhibited, doth for the ſaid Treaſons and Crimes, on the Behalf of the ſaid People of *England*, impeach the ſaid *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*: And pray, that the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, may be put to anſwer all and every the Premiſes; that ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgment, may be thereupon had, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice.

Subſcribed, *John Cook*.

His Majeſty, with his wonted Patience, heard all theſe Slanders and Reproaches, ſitting in his Chair, and looking ſometimes on the pretended Court, ſometimes up to the Galleries, and riſing again, turned to behold

hold the Guards and Spectators; then he ſat down, with a majeſtick and unmov'd Countenance, and ſometimes ſmiling, eſpecially at theſe Words, *Tyrant*, *Traitor*, and the like.

Alſo the Silver Head of his Staff happen'd to fall off, at which he wonder'd, and ſeeing none to take it up, he ſtoop'd for it himſelf.

The Charge being read, *Bradſhaw* began:

Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing ſuch Matters as appear in it; you find, that in the Cloſe of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the Behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you anſwer to your Charge: The Court expects your Anſwer.

King. I would know by what Power I am called hither: I was, not long ago, in the *Iſle of Wight*; how I came there, is a longer Story than I think is fit at this Time for me to ſpeak of; but there I entered into a Treaty with both Houſes of Parliament, with as much Publick Faith as 'tis poſſible to be had of any People in the World. I treated there with a Number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honeſtly and uprightly; I cannot ſay but they did very nobly with me: We were upon a Concluſion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority (I mean lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the World; Thieves and Robbers by the Highway: But I would know by what Authority) I was brought from thence, and carried from Place to Place (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I ſhall anſwer.

Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what Sins you bring upon your Heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I ſay, think well upon it, before you go further from one Sin to a greater. Therefore let me know by what Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer; in the mean time, I ſhall not betray my Truſt;

Truſt; I have a Truſt committed to me by God, by old and lawful Deſcent, I will not betray it, to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority; therefore reſolve me that, and you ſhall hear more of me.

Bradſhaw. If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you by the Court at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you, in the Name of the People of *England*, of which you are elected King, to anſwer.

King. No, Sir, I deny that.

Bradſhaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they muſt proceed.

King. I do tell them ſo; *England* was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near theſe thouſand Years; therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither. I do ſtand more for the Liberty of my People than any here, that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I will anſwer it, otherwiſe I will not anſwer it.

Bradſhaw. Sir, how really you have managed your Truſt is known: Your Way of Anſwer is to interrogate the Court, which beſeems not you in this Condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. Here is a Gentleman (Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*) aſk him, if he did not bring me from the *Iſle of Wight* by Force. I do not come here as ſubmitting to the Court.

I will ſtand as much for the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, rightly underſtood, as any Man here whatſoever. I ſee no Houſe of Lords here that may conſtitute a Parliament, and the King too ſhould have been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an End to the Treaty in the Publick Faith of the World? Let me ſee a Legal Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scripture, or

warranted by the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and I will anſwer.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have propounded a Queſtion, and have been anſwered: Seeing you will not anſwer, the Court will conſider how to proceed; in the mean Time, thoſe who brought you hither, are to take Charge of you back again. The Court deſires to know, whether this be all the Anſwer you will give, or no?

King. Sir, I deſire you would give me, and all the World, Satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a ſlight Thing you are about. I am ſworn to keep the Peace, by that Duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the laſt Breath of my Body; and therefore you ſhall do well to ſatisfy, firſt God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it; and if you do it by an uſurped Authority, that will not laſt long; there is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account. Satisfy me in that, and I will anſwer; otherwiſe I betray my Truſt, and the Liberties of the People; and therefore think of that, and then I ſhall be willing: For I do avow, that it is as great a Sin to withſtand lawful Authority, as it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannical, or any other unlawful Authority; and therefore ſatisfy God and me, and all the World in that, and you ſhall receive my Anſwer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Bradſhaw. The Court expects you ſhould give them a final Anſwer. Their Purpoſe is to adjourn till *Monday* next: If you do not ſatisfy yourſelf, tho' we do tell you our Authority, we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon God's Authority, and the Kingdom's; and that Peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent Work.

King. For Anſwer, Let me tell you, you have ſhewn no lawful Authority to ſatisfy any reaſonable Man.

Bradſhaw. That's in your Apprehenſion; we are ſatisfied, that are your Judges.

King.

King. 'Tis not my Apprehenſion, nor your's neither, that ought to decide it.

Bradſhaw. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded. ——— So commanding the Guard to take him away, his Majeſty only reply'd, *Well, Sir!* —— And at his going down, pointing with his Staff towards the *Charge*, he ſaid, *I do not fear that.* —— As he went down the Stairs, the People in the Hall cried out, *God ſave the King*; notwithſtanding ſome were ſet there by the Faction to head the Clamour for Juſtice.

O yes, being call'd, the Court adjourn'd till *Monday* next, *January* 22. at Nine in the Morning, to the *Painted-Chamber*, and from thence to the ſame Place again in *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

Sunday the 21ſt of January.

THIS Day *Bradſhaw*, *Cromwell*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners, kept a Faſt at *Whitehall*, where preach'd, firſt, Mr. *Sprigge*; his Text was; *He that ſheds Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.*

Next, Mr. *Foxley*, his Text; *Judge not, leſt ye be judged.*

Laſt, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, his Text was, *I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron.*

Such was the Mode of thoſe impious Hypocrites, who uſed to preface Rebellion and Murder with the Appearance of Religion.

The Second Day's Proceedings, at the High Court of Juſtice, *ſitting in* Weſtminſter-Hall.

Monday the 22d of *January*, 1648.

OYES made, the Court called, and anſwered to their Names. —— Silence commanded upon Pain of Impriſonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all ſuch as make Diſturbance.

The King, being brought Priſoner to the Bar, Mr. *Cook* began:

Mr. *Cook.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, *my Lord Preſident*, I did, in the laſt Court, in the Behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other Crimes againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the Name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required. *My Lord*, he was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer, but inſtead of anſwering, did there diſpute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in Behalf of the People of *England*, is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation; which if he ſhall refuſe to do, that the Matter of Charge may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you may remember, at the laſt Court you were told the Occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge againſt you, containing a Charge of High Treaſon, and other Crimes, againſt this Realm of *England*: You heard likewiſe, that it was pray'd in the Behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch Proceedings might be had as ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice; you were then pleas'd to make ſome Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers Times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwer'd, that it was by the Authority of the *Commons* of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to Account for thoſe high and capital Miſdemeanors wherewith you were then charged.

Since that, the Court hath taken into Conſideration what you then ſaid; they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do

do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you; they do expect you should either confess or deny it; if you deny it, it is offer'd, in the behalf of the Nation, to be made good against you; their Authority they do avow to the whole World, That the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it; and therefore you are to lose no more Time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

King. When I was here last, 'tis true, I made that Question; and truly, if it were only my own particular Case, I would have satisfied myself with the Protestation I made the last Time I was here, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be try'd by any superior Jurisdiction on Earth; but it is not my Case alone, it is the Freedom and Liberty of the People of *England*; and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in *England* that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed against me here; and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this Particular, because the Affirmative is to be prov'd, the Negative often is very hard to do: But since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.

My Reasons why, in Conscience, and the Duty I owe to God first, and my People next, for the Preservation of their Lives, Liberties, and Estates; I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satified of the Legality of it. All Proceedings against any Man whatsoever———

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the Pro-

Proceedings of any Court of Juſtice; you are about to enter into Argument, and diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charg'd as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it; you are to ſubmit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Anſwer to your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

King. Sir, by your Favour, tho' I do not know the Forms of Law, I do know Law and Reaſon; tho' I am no Lawyer profeſs'd, yet I know as much Law as any Gentleman in *England*; and therefore (under Favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *England* more than you do; and therefore if I ſhould impoſe a Belief upon any Man without Reaſon given for it, it were unreaſonable; but I muſt tell you, That that Reaſon that I have as thus inform'd, I cannot yield unto it.

Bradſhaw. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you ſpeak of Law and Reaſon, it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, it is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are thoſe too that have given that Law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and reign'd. Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken Notice of, that you ſtand in Contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, not by any Law that ever I heard of; all Men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers againſt any Proceedings as legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reaſons; if you deny that, you deny Reaſon.

Brad-

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have offer'd ſomething to the Court; I ſhall ſpeak ſomething unto you, the Senſe of the Court. Sir, neither you, nor any Man, are permitted to diſpute that Point; we are concluded you may not demur the Juriſdiction of the Court; if you do, I muſt let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer; they ſit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predeceſſors and you are reſponſible to them.

King. I deny that, ſhew me one Precedent——

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is ſpeaking to you: This Point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, they have conſider'd of their Juriſdiction, they do affirm their own Juriſdiction

King. I ſay, Sir, by your Favour, that the *Commons* of *England* was never a Court o f Judicature; I would know how they came to be ſo.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and theſe Diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read:

CHARLES STUART, *King of* England, *You have been accus'd on the Behalf of the People of* England, *of High Treaſon and other High Crimes: The Court have determin'd, that you ought to anſwer the ſame.*

King. I will anſwer the ſame, as ſoon as I know by what Authority you do this.

Bradſhaw. If this be all that you will ſay, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Priſoner hither, take Charge of him back again.

King. I do require that I may give in my Reaſons why I don't anſwer, and give me Time for that.

Bradſhaw. Sir, 'tis not for Priſoners to require.

King. Priſoners, Sir! I am not an ordinary Priſoner.

Bradſhaw. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirm'd their Juriſdiction;

diction; if you will not anſwer, we ſhall give Order to record your Default.

King. You never heard my Reaſons yet.

Bradſhaw. Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

King. Shew me that Juriſdiction where Reaſon is not to be heard.

Bradſhaw. Sir, we ſhew it you here, the *Commons* of *England*; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the Pleaſure of the Court, and, it may be, their final Determination.

King. Shew me where ever the Houſe of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

Bradſhaw. Serjeant, Take away the Priſoner.

King. Well, Sir, remember that the King is not ſuffer'd to give his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you are not to have Liberty to uſe this Language: How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England*, and the World judge.

King. Sir, under Favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took —— defended myſelf with Arms; I never took up Arms againſt the People, but for the Laws.

Bradſhaw. The Command of the Court muſt be obey'd: No Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

King. Well, Sir.

Then the Lord Preſident ordered the Default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Anſwer would be given to the Charge.

The King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's *Houſe*.

Then the Court adjourned to the *Painted Chamber*, on *Tueſday* Twelve o'Clock; and from thence they intend to adjourn to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; at which time all Perſons concern'd are to give their Attendance.

His Majeſty not being ſuffer'd to deliver his Reaſons againſt the Juriſdiction of the pretended Court by Word of Mouth, thought fit to leave them in Writing, to the more impartial Judgment of Poſterity, as followeth:

"HAVING already made my Proteſtations, not only againſt the Illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo, *that no earthly Power can juſtly call Me* (who am your King) *in queſtion, as a Delinquent*; I would not any more open my Mouth upon this Occaſion, more than to refer myſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I in this Caſe alone concerned. But the Duty I owe to God, in the Preſervation of the true Liberty of my People, will not ſuffer me at this time to be ſilent: For how can any free-born Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own, if Power, without Right, daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the preſent Caſe. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfy'd me, concerning theſe Grounds which hinder me to anſwer to your pretended Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it (tho' *Negatives* are not ſo naturally proved as *Affirmatives*) yet I will ſhew you the Reaſon why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meaneſt Man in *England*; for I will not (like you) without ſhewing a Reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a Belief upon my Subjects.

There is no Proceeding * juſt againſt any Man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, this Day's Proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for, on the contrary, the Authority and Obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted,

* Hereabout I was ſtopt, and not ſuffer'd to ſpeak any more concerning REASONS.

and ſtrictly commanded, both in the Old and New Teſtament; which, if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove.

And for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That *where the Word of a King is, there is Power; and who may ſay unto him, What doeſt thou?* Eccl. viii. 4. Then, for the Law of this Land, I am no leſs confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that *an Impeachment can lie againſt the King, they all going in his Name:* And one of their Maxims is, That *the King can do no Wrong.* Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your Proceedings, muſt either be Old or New: If Old, ſhew it; if New, tell what Authority, warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land, hath made it, and when. But how the *Houſe of Commons* can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as ſtrange, that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *England*'s Commiſſion could grant your *pretended Power*, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never aſked the Queſtion of the *Tenth Man* in the Kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt *Ploughman*, if you demand not his free Conſent: Nor can you pretend any Colour for this your *pretended Commiſſion*, without the Conſent, at leaſt, of the *major Part* of every Man in *England*, of whatſoever Quality or Condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for my own Right alone, as I am *your King*, but alſo for the true Liberty of *My Subjects*, which conſiſts not in the *Power* of *Government*, but in *living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government*, as may give themſelves the beſt

beſt Aſſurance of their *Lives*, and *Property* of their *Goods*. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this Day's Proceedings do not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt Breach of their publick Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the Two Houſes: For all the *pretended Crimes* laid againſt Me, bear Date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houſes Agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurry'd from thence as a Priſoner; upon which account I am, againſt my Will, brought hither; where, ſince I am come, I cannot but, to my Power, defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own juſt Right. Then, for any thing I can ſee, the Higher Houſe is totally excluded, and for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known that the major Part of them are detained, or deterred, from ſitting: So as, if I had no other, this were ſufficient for Me to proteſt againſt the Lawfulneſs of your *pretended Court*. Beſides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt of my Thoughts; and what Hopes of Settlement is there, ſo long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole Frame of that Government, under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred Years? (nor will I ſay what will fall out, in caſe this lawleſs unjuſt Proceeding againſt Me do go on). And, believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late Years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father, and myſelf, until the Beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have Cauſe to doubt, that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental Laws

of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed my Power hath totally chang'd the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewn you briefly the Reaſons why I cannot ſubmit to your *pretended Authority*, without violating the Truſt which I have from God, for the Welfare and Liberty of my People; I expect from you, either clear Reaſons to convince my Judgment, ſhewing me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will anſwer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings."

This I intended to ſpeak in Weſtminſter-Hall, *on* Monday, Jan. 22. *but, againſt Reaſon, was hinder'd to ſhew my Reaſons.*

The Third Day's Proceedings, at the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall,

Tueſday, January 23, 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court call'd. Seventy-three Perſons preſent. The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an auſtere Countenance upon the Court, and ſits down. The ſecond O Yes made, and Silence commanded, *Cook* began more inſolently:

Mr. *Cook*. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, *my Lord Preſident*, this now the third Time, by the great Grace and Favour of this High Court, the Priſoner hath been brought to the Bar before any Iſſue join'd in the Cauſe. *My Lord*, I did at the firſt Court exhibit a Charge againſt him, containing the *higheſt Treaſon* that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of *England*; That a King of *England*, truſted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath ſo to do, that had a Tribute paid him for that End, ſhould be guilty of a wicked Deſign to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, in the Defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for War againſt his Parliament and People: And I did humbly

humbly pray, in the Behalf of the People of *England*, that he might ſpeedily be requir'd to make an Anſwer to the Charge.

But, my Lord, inſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court. Your Lordſhip was pleas'd to give him a further Day, to conſider and to put in his Anſwer; which Day being Yeſterday, I did humbly move, that he might be requir'd to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer, either by denying or confeſſing of it: but, my Lord, he was then pleas'd for to demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court; which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer. My Lord, beſides this great Delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy Judgment againſt him. My Lord, I might preſs your Lordſhip upon the Whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in Contempt, and ſhall not put in an iſſuable Plea, *Guilty* or *Not Guilty* of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Trial; that as by an implicit Confeſſion, it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerv'd more Favour than the Priſoner at the Bar has done: But beſides, *my Lord*, I ſhall humbly preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact; the *Houſe* of *Commons*, the ſupreme Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declar'd, That *it is notorious, that the Matter of the Charge is true*, as it is in Truth (*my Lord*) as clear as Cryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at Noonday; which if your Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have, notwithſtanding, on the People of *England*'s Behalf, ſeveral Witneſſes to produce: And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I muſt confeſs it is not ſo much I, as the innocent Blood that hath been ſhed, the Cry whereof is very great for Juſtice and Judgment: and therefore I do humbly pray, that

ſpeedy

ſpeedy Judgment be pronounc'd againſt the Priſoner at the Bar.

Bradſhaw went on in the ſame Strain:

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Counſel, in Behalf of the Kingdom againſt you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory Dealing the Court hath found at your Hands; you were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions, you have had your Reſolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Juriſdiction; That it was not for you, nor any other Man, to diſpute the Juriſdiction of the ſupreme and higheſt Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there muſt be no Diſpute; yet you did perſiſt in ſuch Carriage, as you gave no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that conſtituted this Court of Juſtice. ——— Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, that they are very ſenſible of theſe Delays of your's, and that they ought not, being thus authorized by the ſupreme Court of *England*, to be thus trifled withal; and that they might in Juſtice, if they pleaſed, and according to the Rules of Juſtice, take Advantage of theſe Delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment againſt you; yet, nevertheleſs, they are pleaſed to give Direction, and on their Behalfs I do require you, that you may make a poſitive Anſwer unto this Charge that is againſt you. ——— Sir, in plain Terms, for Juſtice knows no Reſpect of Perſons, you are to give a poſitive and final Anſwer in plain *Engliſh*, whether you be Guilty, or Not Guilty, of theſe Treaſons laid to your Charge.

The King, after a little Pauſe, ſaid, When I was here Yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for the Liberties of the People of *England*; I was interrupted; I deſire to know yet, whether I may ſpeak freely, or not.

Brad.

Brad. Sir, you have had the Reſolution of the Court upon the like Queſtion the laſt Day, and you were told, That having ſuch a Charge of ſo high a Nature againſt you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, and to anſwer to your Charge: Sir, if you anſwer to your Charge, which the Court gives you Leave now to do, though they might have taken the Advantage of your Contempt; yet if you be able to anſwer to your Charge, when you have once anſwered, you ſhall be heard at large, make the beſt Defence you can. But, Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to iſſue out into any other Diſcourſes, till ſuch Time as you have given a poſitive Anſwer concerning the Matter that is charged upon you.

King. For the Charge, I value it not a Ruſh; it is the *Liberty* of the People of *England* that I ſtand for; for Me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that ſhould be an Example to all the People of *England*, for to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to do it. You ſpoke very well the firſt Day that I came here (on *Saturday*) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the Maintenance of the Liberties of my People: The ſame Obligation you ſpake of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore until that I may know that this is not againſt the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your Favour, I can put in no particular Anſwer: If you will give me Time, I will then ſhew you my Reaſons why I cannot do it, and this —— *Here being interrupted, he ſaid* —— By your Favour, you ought not to interrupt me. How I came here, I know not; there's no Law for it, to make your King your Priſoner:

ſoner: I was lately in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known——— the two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Repreſentative of the Kingdom; and when that I had almoſt made an End of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither; and therefore——

Brad. Sir, you muſt know the Pleaſure of the Court.

King. By your Favour, Sir ——

Brad. Nay, Sir, by your Favour, you may not be permitted to fall into theſe Diſcourſes; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court; the Court craves it not of you; and once more they command you to give your poſitive Anſwer. ——— *Clerk,* Do your Duty.

King. Duty, Sir!

The Clerk reads:

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *you are accuſed in the Behalf of the Commons of* England, *of divers High Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your poſitive and final Anſwer, by Way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.*

King. Sir, I ſay again unto you, ſo that I might give Satisfaction to the People of *England*, of the Clearneſs of my Proceedings, not by Way of Anſwer, not in this Way, but to ſatisfy them that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court againſt their Privileges, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; Sir, you muſt excuſe me.

Brad. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly diſown'd the Court, and put an Affront upon it; how far you have preſerved the Privileges of the People, your Actions have ſpoke it; and truly, Sir, Men's Intentions ought to be known by their Actions; you have written your Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom. But, Sir, you underſtand

derſtand the Pleaſure of the Court. ——— *Clerk*, record the Default. ——And, Gentlemen, you that took Charge of the Priſoner, take him back again.

King. I will only ſay this one Word to you, if it were only my own Particular, I would not ſay any more, nor interrupt you.

Brad. Sir, you have heard the Pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard: And Proclamation was made, That all Perſons who had then appear'd, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the *Painted Chamber*; to which Place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by Ten of the Clock the next Morning.

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England*.

Wedneſday, Jan. 24, 1648. *Painted Chamber.*

THIS Day it was expected that the High Court of Juſtice would have met in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, about Ten of the Clock; but at the Time appointed, one of the Uſhers, by Direction of the Court (then ſitting in the Painted Chamber) gave Notice to the People there aſſembled, That in regard the Court was then taking into Conſideration, how the Witneſſes ſhould be examined, in relation to preſent Affairs, in the Painted Chamber, they could not ſit there, but all Perſons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

The Names of the Witneſſes, whoſe ſeveral Depoſitions upon Oath were all to this Effect, That they had ſeen his Majeſty at the Head of his Army, with his Sword drawn, and actually in ſeveral Battles, and that he levied Forces, and gave Commiſſions, *&c.*

Wm. Curthbert of Patrington, in Holderneſs, Gent.
John Bennet of Harwood, in the County of York, Glover,
William Brayne, of Wixhall, in Salop, Gent.
Henry Hartford, of Stratford upon Avon, in Warwickſh.
Robert Lacy, of the Town of Nottingham, Painter.
Edward Roberts, of Biſhop's-Caſtle, Salop, Ironmonger,
Robert Loads, of Cottam, in Northamptonſhire.
S. Morgan, of Wellington, in Shropſhire, Feltmaker,
James Williams, of Roſs, in Herefordſhire, Shoemaker,
John Pynegar, of Hayner, in Derbyſhire,
Samuel Lawſon, of Nottingham, Maltſter,
Arthur Young, Barber-Surgeon, London,
Thomas Whittington, of Nottingham, Shoemaker,
Richard Blomfield, of London, Weaver,
William Jones, of Uſk, in the County of Monmouth, Labourer,
Humphry Brown, of Whitſondine, in the County of Rutland, Labourer,
David Evans, of Abergavenny, in the County of Monmouth, Smith,
Diogenes Edwards, of Carſton, in the County of Salop, Butcher,
Giles Gryce, of Wellington, in the County of Salop, Gt.
John Vinſon, of Damorham, in the County of Wilts, Gt.
George Seely, of London, Shoemaker,
John Moor, of Cork, in Ireland, Gent.
Thomas Ives, of Boyſet, in Northamptonſh. Labourer,
Thomas Rawlins, of Hanſlop, Bucks, Gent.
Thomas Read, of Maidſtone, in Kent, Gent.
James Crosby, of Dublin, in Ireland, Barber,
Samuel Burden, of Lyneham, in the County of Wilts, Gt.
Michael Potts, of Sharpereſton, in Northumberland, Vintner,
George Cornwal, of Aſton, in the County of Hereford, Ferryman,
Henry Gooche, of Gray's-Inn, Middleſex, Gent.
Robert Williams, of the Pariſh of St. Martin's, Cornwal, Husbandman,
Richard Price, of London, Scrivener.
John Thomas, of Denbigh, Labourer,

Moſt of theſe were Soldiers, and bore Arms againſt His Majeſty.

Thurſday,

Thurſday, Jan. 25, 1648. *Painted Chamber.*

THE foregoing Witneſſes ſworn in open Court, and their Depoſitions taken; upon the whole Matter,

Reſolved, That this Court will proceed to Sentence of Condemnation againſt *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*.

Reſolved, That the Condemnation of the King ſhall be for a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murtherer.

That the Condemnation of the King ſhall be likewiſe for being a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*.

That this Condemnation ſhall extend to Death.

Friday, Jan. 26, 1648. *Painted Chamber.*

THE Draught of a Sentence againſt the King is, according to the Votes of the 25th Inſtant, prepared; and, after ſeveral Readings, Debates, and Amendments, by the Court thereupon,

Reſolved, *&c.* That this Court do agree to the Sentence now read.

That the ſaid Sentence ſhall be ingroſſed.

That the King be brought to *Weſtminſter-Hall* Tomorrow to receive his Sentence.

The Fourth Day's Proceedings, of the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall.

Saturday, *the* 27*th of* January, 1648.

The Names of thoſe Perſons that were preſent at the Sentence of the King to Death.

Jn. Bradſhaw, Preſ.	Henry Marten,	John Hutchinſon,
John Liſle,	William Purefoy,	Sir Mich. Liveſey Bart.
William Say,	John Barkſtead,	Rob. Titchbourne,
Oliver Cromwell,	Matth. Tomlinſon,	Owen Roe,
Henry Ireton,	John Blackiſton,	Robert Lilburn,
Sir Hardreſs Waller	Gilbert Millington	Adrian Scroop,
Sir Jn. Boucher, Kt.	Sir Wm. Conſtable, Bart.	Richard Deane,
Wm. Hevingham,	Edmond Ludlow,	John Okey,
Ald. Pennington,		

John Hewſon,	Ld. Gray of Grooby,	William Cawley,
William Goffe,	Sir John Danvers, Kt.	Anthony Stapely,
Cornelius Holland	Sir Th. Maleverer, Bt.	John Downes,
John Carew,	John Moor,	Thomas Horton,
John Jones,	John Aldred,	Thomas Hammond,
Miles Corbet,	Henry Smith,	Nicholas Love,
Francis Allin,	Humphrey Edwards,	Vincent Potter,
Peregrine Pelham,	Gregory Clement,	Auguſtine Garland,
Daniel Blagrave,	Thomas Wogan,	John Dixwel,
Valentine Walton,	Sir Greg. Norton, Kt.	George Fleetwood,
Thomas Harriſon,	Edmond Harvey,	Simon Meyne,
Edward Whalley,	John Venn,	James Temple,
Thomas Pride,	Thomas Scot,	Peter Temple,
Iſaac Ewers,	Tho. Andrews, Ald.	Thomas Waite,

OYes made. Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Lord Preſident, in his Scarlet Robe (ſuitable to the Work of this Day) with ſixty-ſix other Members of the Court, call'd. As the King came into the Court, in his uſual Poſture, with his Hat on, a Cry was made in the Hall, by ſome of the Soldiers, for *Juſtice! Juſtice!* and *Execution!* But Silence being commanded, his Majeſty began:

King. I deſire a Word to be heard a little, and I hope I ſhall give no Occaſion of Interruption.

Bradſhaw. You may anſwer in your time; hear the Court firſt.

King. If it pleaſe you, Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I ſhall not give any Occaſion of Interruption; and it is only in a Word: A ſudden Judgment———

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ſhall be heard in due Time, but you are to hear the Court firſt.

King. Sir, I deſire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will ſay: And therefore, Sir, a haſty Judgment is not ſo ſoon recall'd.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. Well, Sir, ſhall I be heard before the Judgment be given?

Bradſhaw.

Bradſhaw. Gentlemen, it is well known to all or moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeveral Times convented and brought before the Court, to make anſwer to a Charge of High Treaſon and other High Crimes exhibited againſt him, in the Name of the People * of *England*; to which Charge being requir'd to anſwer, he hath been ſo far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reaſoning and Debate upon the Authority of the Court, and of the higheſt Court, that conſtituted them to Try and Judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Anſwer, he was ſtill pleas'd to continue contumacious, and to refuſe to ſubmit or anſwer. Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themſelves, nor the Truſt repos'd in them, nor that any Man's Wilfulneſs prevent Juſtice, they have thought fit to take the Matter into Conſideration; they have conſider'd of the Charge; they have conſider'd of the Contumacy, and of that Confeſſion which in Law doth ariſe upon that Contumacy; they have likewiſe conſider'd of the Notoriety of the Fact charg'd upon the Priſoner; and upon the whole Matter, they are reſolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounc'd againſt this Priſoner: But, in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounc'd, the Court hath reſolved that they will hear him. Yet, Sir, thus much I muſt tell you beforehand, which you muſt have been minded of at other Courts, That if that you have to ſay, be to offer any Debate concerning Juriſdiction, you are not to be heard in it; you have offer'd it formerly, and you have indeed ſtruck at the Root, that is, the Power and ſupreme Authority of the *Commons* of *England*, which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed

* Here an Honourable Lady interrupted the Court, ſaying, Not half the People; but ſhe was ſoon ſilenc'd.

deed is an irrational Thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, Sir, if you have any thing to ſay in Defence of yourſelf, concerning the Matters charged, the Court hath given me Command to let you know they will hear you.

King. Since I ſee that you will not hear any thing of Debate, concerning that which I confeſs I thought moſt material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to it; but only I muſt tell you, That this many a-day all Things have been taken away from me, but that, that I call more dear to me than my Life, which is, *My Conſcience*, and *My Honour*; and if I had reſpect to *my Life*, more than the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, certainly I ſhould have made a particular Defence for myſelf; for by that at leaſt-wiſe I might have delay'd an ugly Sentence which I believe will paſs upon me. Therefore certainly, *Sir*, as a Man that hath ſome Underſtanding, ſome Knowledge of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Country had not over-borne the Care that I have of my own Preſervation, I ſhould have gone another Way to work than that I have done. Now, *Sir*, I conceive that an haſty Sentence once paſt, may be ſooner repented than recalled; and truly the ſelf-ſame Deſire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at laſt deſire, *That I having ſomething to ſay that concerns both, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons.* This Delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatſoever I ſay; if that I ſay no Reaſon, thoſe that hear me muſt be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have; if it be Reaſon, and really for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am ſure on it, it is very well worth the hearing; therefore I conjecture

ture you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it is real, the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me the Hearing, before any Sentenc be paſſed; I only deſire this, that you will take this into your Conſideration, it may be you have not heard of it before-hand; if you will, I'll retire, and you may think on it: But if I cannot get this Liberty, I do here proteſt, that theſe fair Shews of Liberty and Peace are pure Shews, and that you will not hear your KING.

Brad. Sir, you have now ſpoken.

King. Yes, Sir.

Brad. And this that you have ſaid is a further declining of the Juriſdiction of this Court, which was the Thing wherein you were limited before.

King. Pray excuſe me, Sir, for my Interruption, becauſe you miſtake me; it is not a declining of it, you do judge me, before you hear me ſpeak; I ſay, it will not, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court: Yet, Sir, in this give me Leave to ſay, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this; I do proteſt it is not the declining of it, ſince I ſay, if that I do ſay any thing but that which is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject, then the Shame is mine: Now I deſire that you would take this into your Conſideration; if you will, I'll withdraw.

Brad. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved to us; not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in Perſon you offer'd it to the Court. Sir, you ſay you do not decline the Juriſdiction of the Court.

King. Not in this that I have ſaid.

Brad. I underſtand you well, Sir: But nevertheleſs, that which you have offer'd, ſeems to be contrary to that Saying of your's; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: It is not as you ſay, *that they will not hear*

their

their King; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your Pleaſure, for three Courts together, to hear what you would ſay to the People's Charge againſt you; to which you have not vouchſafed to give any Anſwer at all. Sir, this tends to a farther Delay: Truly, Sir, ſuch Delays as theſe, neither may the Kingdom nor Juſtice well bear: You have had three ſeveral Days to have offer'd in this kind what you would have pleaſed: This Court is founded upon the Authority of the Commons of *England*, in whom reſts the ſupreme Juriſdiction; that which you now tender, is to have another Juriſdiction, and a *co-ordinate Juriſdiction*. I know very well you expreſs yourſelf, Sir, that notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheleſs you would proceed on here, I did hear you ſay ſo: But, Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, muſt needs be in Delay of the Juſtice here; ſo as if this Court be reſolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer, they are not bound in Juſtice to grant: But, Sir, according to that, you ſeem to deſire, and becauſe you ſhall know the further Pleaſure of the Court, upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a Time.

King. Shall I withdraw?

Brad. Sir, you ſhall know the Pleaſure of the Court preſently.

The Court withdraws for half an Hour into the Court of Wards.

Serj. at Arms. The Court gives Command, that the Priſoner be withdrawn, and they give Order for his Return again.

About half an Hour being expir'd, the Court returns.

Brad. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your Priſoner.

Which being done, he proceeded:

Sir,

Sir, you were pleaſed to make a Motion here to the Court, to offer a Deſire of your's, touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords in the Painted Chamber, for the Peace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an Anſwer before the Court adjourn'd: Truly, Sir, their withdrawing and Adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any Difficulty in the Thing; they have conſidered of what you have moved, and have conſider'd of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often ſaid, upon the ſupreme Authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*. The Court acts according to their Commiſſion, Sir: The Return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delay'd by you already; and this that you now offer hath occaſion'd ſome little farther Delay; and they are Judges appointed by the higheſt Authority; and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Juſtice. They are good Words in the Great Old Charter of *England*, *Nulli negabimus*, *nulli vendemus*, *nulli deferemus juſtitiam:* There muſt be no Delay. But the Truth is, Sir, and ſo every Man here obſerves it, that you have much delay'd them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might have long ſince proceeded to Judgment againſt you; and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Sentence and Judgment, and that is their unanimous Reſolution.

King. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to diſpute: I am no *Sceptick*, for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough. Sir, I confeſs, I think it would have been for the Kingdom's Peace, if you would have taken the Pains to have ſhewn the Lawfulneſs of your Power; for this Delay that I have deſired, I confeſs it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom; for it is not my Perſon that I look on alone, it is the Kingdom's Welfare, and the

Kingdom's Peace; it is an old Sentence, *That we ſhould think on long before we have reſolved of great Matters ſuddenly:* Therefore, Sir, I do put at your Doors all the Inconveniency of an haſty Sentence. I confeſs, I have been here now, I think, this Week, this Day eight Days was the Day I came here firſt; but a little Delay of a Day or two further may give Peace, whereas an haſty Judgment may bring on that Trouble and perpetual Inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it; and therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God and my Country, do deſire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, or any other Chamber that you will appoint me.

Brad. You have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it; and the Court now requires to know, whether you have any more to ſay for yourſelf, than you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. I ſay this, Sir, That if you hear me, if you will give me but this Delay, I doubt not but I ſhall give ſome Satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that you will conſider it once again.

Brad. Sir, I have received Directions from the Court.

King. Well, Sir.

Brad. If this muſt be reinforced, or any thing of this Nature, your Anſwer muſt be the ſame; and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to ſay.

King. I have nothing more to ſay; but I ſhall deſire that this may be entered what I have ſaid.

Brad. The Court then, Sir, hath ſomething to ſay unto you; which, although I know it will be very unacceptable,

acceptable, yet notwithſtanding they are willing, and are reſolved to diſcharge their Duty.

Then *Bradſhaw* went on in a long Harangue, endeavouring to juſtify their Proceedings, miſapplying Law and Hiſtory, and raking up and wreſting whatſoever he thought fit for his Purpoſe, alledging the Examples of former Treaſons and Rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick Proofs; and concluding, that the King was a *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, *Murtherer*, and *Publick Enemy* to the *Commonwealth* of *England*.

His Majeſty having, with his wonted Patience, heard all theſe Reproaches, anſwered;

King. I would deſire only one Word before you give Sentence, and that is, that you would hear me concerning thoſe great Imputations that you have laid to my Charge.

Brad. Sir, you muſt give me Leave to go on; for I am not far from your Sentence, and your Time is now paſt.

King. But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few Words to you; for, truly, whatever Sentence you put upon me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy Imputations, I ſee, by your Speech, you have put upon me, that, Sir, it is very true that——

Brad. Sir, I muſt put you in mind: Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time eſpecially, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay, that is proper for us to admit of: But, Sir, you have not owned us a Court; and you look upon us a ſort of People met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. I know nothing of that.

Brad. You diſavow us as a Court; and therefore, for you to addreſs yourſelf to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you ſay, it is not to be permitted; and the *Truth* is, all along, from the firſt

time you were pleaſed to diſavow and diſown us, the Court needed not have heard you one Word; for unleſs they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to ſpeak. Sir, we have given you too much Liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any farther: Were it proper for us to do, we ſhould hear you freely, and we ſhould not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have ſaid or proved on your Behalf, whether for totally excuſing, or for in part excuſing, thoſe great and heinous Charges, that in whole, or in part, are laid upon you. But, Sir, I ſhall trouble you no longer; your Sins are of ſo large a Dimenſion, that if you do but ſeriouſly think of them, they will drive you to a ſad Conſideration, they may improve in you a ſad and ſerious Repentance; and that the Court doth heartily wiſh that you may be ſo penitent for what you have done amiſs, that God may have Mercy, at leaſtwiſe, upon your better Part. Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that that the Law preſcribes. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*; we cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us: For *to acquit the Guilty, is of equal Abomination, as to condemn the Innocent*; we may not acquit the Guilty: What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traytor, Tyrant, and a Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court. Make an O Yes, and command Silence, while the Sentence is read.

Which done, their Clerk *Broughton* read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment.

Whereas the Commons of *England*, in Parliament, have appointed them an High Court of Juſtice for the Trying of *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, before whom he had been three times convented, and at the firſt time a Charge of High Treaſon and other Crimes and

and Miſdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of *England.* [*Here the Charge was repeated.*

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, he, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to do. [*Expreſſing the ſeveral Paſſages of his refuſing in the former Proceedings.*] For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy, ſhall be put to Death, by the ſevering his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence read, *Bradſhaw* added —— The Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Reſolution of the whole Court.

[*Here the Court ſtood up, and aſſented to what the Preſident ſaid.*

King. Will you hear me a Word, Sir?

Brad. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No, Sir!

Brad. No, Sir; by your Favour, Sir —— Guard, withdraw your Priſoner.

King. I may ſpeak after the Sentence, by your Favour, Sir, I may ſpeak after the Sentence ever. By your Favour hold, the Sentence, Sir —— I ſay, Sir, I do —— I am not ſuffered to ſpeak! —— Expect what Juſtice other People will have.

O Yes, All manner of Perſons that have any thing elſe to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their Attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which Place this Court doth forthwith adjourn itſelf: Where being ſat, it was ordered,

That Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Harriſon*, Com. Gen. *Ireton*, Col. *Dean*, and Col. *Okey*, are appointed a Committee to conſider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence given by the High Court of Juſtice.

And then the Court adjourn'd itſelf till *Monday* Morning, at Eight o'Clock, to this Place.

His

His Majeſty being taken away by the Guards, as he paſſed down the Stairs, the inſolent Soldiers ſcoffed at him, caſting the Smoke of their Tobacco (a Thing very diſtaſteful unto him) in his Face; his Majeſty, according to his wonted heroic Patience, took no more Notice of ſo ſtrange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief. As he paſſed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers crying out, *Juſtice! Juſtice!* He ſaid, *Poor Souls! for a Piece of Money, they would do ſo for their Commanders.*

Being brought to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s, and thence to *Whitehall*, the Soldiers continued their brutiſh Carriage toward him, abuſing all that ſeemed to ſhew any Reſpect, or even Pity to him; not ſuffering him to reſt in his Chamber, but thruſting in, and ſmoaking their Tobacco, and diſturbing his Privacy.

But through all theſe Tryals (unuſual to Princes) he paſſed with ſuch a calm and even Temper, that he let fall nothing unbeſeeming his former Majeſty and Magnanimity.

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with his Majeſty's Deſire, that ſeeing they had paſſed a Sentence of Death upon him, and his Time might be nigh, he might ſee his Children; and Dr. *Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, might be admitted to aſſiſt him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament. Both which at length were granted.

And the next Day, being *Sunday*, he was attended by the Guard to St. *James*'s; where the Biſhop preached before him upon theſe Words, *In the Day when God ſhall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jeſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel.*

A True

A True Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth, *and the Duke of* Glouceſter, *the Day before his Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet him, he firſt gave his Bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, whenever ſhe ſhould ſee him, that it was his Father's laſt Deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then ſaid the King to her, *Sweetheart, you'll forget this: No* (ſaid ſhe) *I ſhall never forget it whilſt I live*; and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King, taking the Duke of *Glouceſter* upon his Knee, ſaid, *Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head* (upon which Words the Child looking very ſtedfaſtly on him) *Mark, Child, what I ſay, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, you muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *do live, for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at laſt: And therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child ſighing, ſaid, *I will be torn in Pieces firſt*; which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoice exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth's *own Hand.*

WHAT the King ſaid on the 29th of *January*, 1648, being the laſt Time I had the Happineſs to ſee him: He told me, he was glad I was come; and altho' he had not Time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat he had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in Writing, becauſe he feared their Cruelty

Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment myſelf for him, for that would be a glorious Death that he ſhould die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and Biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me, he had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that his Thoughts never ſtray'd from her, and that his Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withal, he commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to her, and bid me ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all his Friends. So, after he had given me his Bleſſing, I took my Leave. Further, he commanded us all to forgive thoſe People, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that gave them Power; and he feared alſo to their own Souls: And deſired me not to grieve for him, for he ſhould die a *Martyr*, and doubted not but the Lord would ſettle his Throne upon his Son, and that we ſhould be all happier than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived; with many other Things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29, 1648.

UPON Report made from the Committee for conſidering of the Time and Place for the executing of the Judgment againſt the King: That the ſaid Committee have reſolved, that the open Street, before *Whitehall*, is a fit Place: And that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit, that the King be there executed the

the Morrow, the King having already Notice thereof: The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that Purpoſe, which Warrant was accordingly drawn, and agreed unto, and ordered to be ingroſſed; which was done, and ſigned and ſealed accordingly, as followeth:

The Warrant for Beheading the King.

At the High Court of Juſtice for the Trying and Judging Charles Stuart, *King of* England, Jan. 29, 1648.

WHereas *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, is, and ſtandeth con icted, attained, and condemned of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, and Sentence upon *Saturday* laſt was pronounced againſt him by this Court, to be put to Death by the ſevering his Head from his Body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done: Theſe are therefore to will and require you to ſee the ſaid Sentence executed in the open Street before *Whitehall*, upon the Morrow, being the 30th Day of this Inſtant Month of *January*, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, with full Effect: And for ſo doing, this ſhall be your Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and other the good People of this Nation of *England*, to be aſſiſting unto you in this Service.

Given under our Hands and Seals.

To Col. Francis Hacker, *Col.* Hunks, *and Lieu. Col.* Phray, *and to every of them.*

Sealed and ſubſcribed by

J. Bradſhaw, T. Grey. O. Cromwell, Ed. Whaley, M. Liveſey, J. Okey, J. Danvers, R. Bourchier, H. Ireton, T. Maleverer, J. Blackiſtone, J. Hutchinſon, W. Goffe, T. Pride, Pet. Temple, T. Harriſon, John Huſon, H. Smith, Per. Pelham, Simon Meyne, T. Horton, J. Jones, J. Moore, Hardr. Waller, Gilbert Millington, G. Fleetwood, J. Alured, R. Lilbourne, W. Say,

Ant. Stapely, R. Deane, R. Tichbourne, Humph. Edwards, Dan. Blagrave, Owen Roe, W. Purefoy, Adrian Scroope, James Temple, Aug. Garland, Edm. Ludlow, H. Marten, Vin. Potter, W. Conſtable, R. Ingoldſby, W. Cawley, J. Berkſtead, Iſaac Ewers, J. Dixwell, Val. Wanton, Greg. Norton, J. Challoner, T. Wogan, J. Venn, Greg. Clement, J. Downes, T. Waite, T. Scott, J. Carew, Miles Corbet.

It was ordered, that the Officers of the Ordnance within the Tower of *London*, or any other Officer or Officers of the Store within the ſaid Tower, in whoſe Hands or Cuſtody the bright Execution-Axe for the executing Malefactors, is, do forthwith deliver unto *Edward Dandy*, Eſq; Serjeant at Arms, attending this Court, or his Deputy or Deputies, the ſaid Axe; and for their or either of their ſo doing, this ſhall be their Warrant.

Directed to Col. John White, *or any other Officer within the Tower of* London, whom it concerneth.

The King's Deportment and Speech on the Scaffold.

Tueſday, the 30th of *January*, the fatal Day being come, the Commiſſioners met in the Painted Chamber, and ordered four or five of their Miniſters to attend upon the King at St. *James*'s, where they then kept him; but his Majeſty well knowing what miſerable Comforters they were like to prove, refuſed to have Conference with them.

That Morning the King having ſlept ſoundly for about four Hours, awaked near two Hours before Day; and calling to Mr. *Herbert*, who lay by his Bed-ſide, bid him riſe; *For* (ſays the King) *I will get up, having a great Work to do this Day.* Herbet, *this is my ſecond Marriage-day, I will be as trim to Day as may be; for before Night, I hope to be eſpous'd to my bleſſed Jeſus.* He then appointed what Cloaths we would wear, *And* (ſays he) *let me have a Shirt on more than ordinary, by reaſon*

reaſon the Seaſon is ſo ſharp, as probably may make me ſhake, which ſome Obſervers will imagine proceeds from Fear; I would have no ſuch Imputation; I fear not Death; Death is not terrible to me; I bleſs my God, I am prepared. Soon after the King was dreſſed, came Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, preciſely at the Time his Majeſty had before appointed; and being firſt an Hour in private with him, calling Mr. *Herbert*, he pray'd in the Prayers of the Church, reading in the 27th Chapter of St. *Matthew*, which relates the Paſſion of our Saviour. After Service, the King thanked the Biſhop for making Choice of that Chapter, being ſo applicable to his preſent Condition: The Biſhop replied, *May it pleaſe your Gracious Majeſty, it is the proper Leſſon for the Day, as appears by the Kalendar*; at which he was much affected, and thought it a providential Preparation for his Death.

About Ten o'Clock, Col. *Hacker* knock'd eaſily at the King's Chamber Door; and knocking louder a ſecond time, the King commanded Mr. *Herbert* to go to the Door, who demanded why he knocked; *Hacker* ſaid, he would ſpeak with the King; the King ſaid, Let him come in. He came in trembling, and told his Majeſty, It was Time to go to *Whitehall*, where he might have farther Time to reſt. Well, ſays the King, go forth, I will come preſently. Soon after, the King took the Biſhop by the Hand, and ſaid, Come, let us go; and ſpoke thus to Mr. *Herbert*, Open the Door, *Hacker* has given us a ſecond Warning. The King paſſed through the Garden into the Park, where ſeveral Companies of Foot were drawn up, and made a Guard on each Side, the Biſhop waiting on the King's Right-hand, and Col. *Tomlinſon* on his Left, both bare-headed. The King walked very faſt, and calling on them to walk faſter, ſaid, *He now went before them, to ſtrive for a Heavenly Crown*,

with leſs Solicitude, than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.

At the End of the Park, the King went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery, and ſo into the Cabinet Chamber; where, after ſeveral Prayers and pious Diſcourſes, about Twelve he eat a Bit of Bread, and drank a Glaſs of Claret: Soon after, Col. *Hacker* came to the Chamber-door, and gave his laſt Signal; the Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert*, weeping, fell upon their Knees, and the King gave them his Hand to kiſs, and helped up the aged Biſhop, and ſaid, Open the Door; and bidding *Hacker* go on, ſaid, I will follow. So he was conducted through the Banquetting-Houſe to the Scaffold, by a Paſſage made through a Window; many Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horſe, were placed to keep off the Spectators, whereby his Majeſty was diſappointed of ſpeaking to the People; and therefore directing himſelf chiefly to Colonel *Tomlinſon*, he ſaid,

I Shall be very little heard of any body; I ſhall therefore ſpeak a Word unto you here.

Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make ſome Men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as to the Puniſhment; but I think it is my Duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear myſelf, both as an honeſt Man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian.

I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocence.—— In troth, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the Two Houſes of Parliament; and I call God to witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an Account, that I never did intend for to incroach upon their Privileges; they began upon me, it was the Militia they began upon; they confeſs'd that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me:

me: And, to be ſhort, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I: So that the Guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God, that God will clear me of it; I will not (I am in Charity) God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the Two Houſes of Parliament, there is no Neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt: For I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me, have been the chief Cauſe of all this Bloodſhed: So that, by way of ſpeaking, as I find myſelf clear of this, I hope, and pray God, that they may too; yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me: Many times he does pay Juſtice by unjuſt Sentence, that is, ordinary. I will only ſay this, *That an unjuſt Sentence,* * *that I ſuffer'd to take Effect, is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence upon me.* That is, ſo far I have ſaid, to ſhew you that I am an *innocent Man.*

Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian.—I hope there is † a good Man that will bear me witneſs, that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe in particular, that have been the chief Cauſers of my Death; who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go further; I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God, with St. *Stephen,* that *this be not laid to their Charge*; nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular Men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the laſt Gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul (and

* STRAFFORD. † Pointing to Dr. JUXON.

(and I hope there is ſome here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you both how you are out of the Way, and will put you in the Way. *Firſt*, You are out of the Way; for certainly all the Way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any Thing, is in the Way of Conqueſt; certainly this is an ill Way: For Conqueſt, Sir, in my Opinion, is never juſt, except there be a good juſt Cauſe, either for Matter of Wrong, or juſt Title; and then if you go beyond it, the firſt Quarrel that you have to it, is that makes it unjuſt at the End, that was juſt at firſt: But if it be only Matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to *Alexander*, that he was the great Robber, and he was but a petty Robber: And ſo, Sir, I do think the Way that you are in, is much out of the Way. Now, Sir, for to put you in the Way, believe it; you will never do right, nor God will ever proſper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due (that is, *my Succeſſors*) and the People their Due. I am as much for them as any of you. You muſt give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out of Order. For to ſet you in a Way particularly now I cannot, but only this, *A National Synod freely called*, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, indeed, I will not———(*Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax*, he ſaid, *Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me*) For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concerns my own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it. For the People: And truly I deſire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whoſoever; but I muſt tell you, That their Liberty and Freedom conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be moſt their own. It is for having

Share

Share in Government, Sir, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign, are clean different Things; and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given Way to an Arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that *I am the Martyr* of the People. In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer, for I will only ſay this to you, that in Truth I could have deſired ſome little Time longer, becauſe I would have put this that I have ſaid in a little more Order, and a little better digeſted, than I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuſe me. I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God that you do take thoſe Courſes that are beſt for the Good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvation.

Then the Biſhop thus addreſſed himſelf to the King:

Tho' it be very well known, what your Majeſty's Affections are to the Proteſtant Religion, yet it may be expected, that you ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the World's Satisfaction in that Particular.

King. I thank you heartily, my Lord, I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I do declare before you all, that I die a Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left me by my Father; and this * honeſt Man, I think, will witneſs it.

Then, turning to the Officers, ſaid,

Sirs, excuſe me for this; I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God; I will ſay no more.

Then,

* Pointing to Dr. Juxon.

Then, turning to Col. *Hacker*, he ſaid,

Take care they do not put me to Pain; *and*, *Sir*, *this*, *and it pleaſe you.* But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid, *Take heed of the Ax*, *pray take heed of the Ax.* Then the King, ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid, *I ſhall ſay but ſhort Prayers*, *and when I thruſt out my Hands* ———

Then the King called to Dr. *Juxon* for his Night-cap, and put it on. He ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his Cap; which the King did accordingly, by the Help of the Executioner and the Biſhop. Then the King, turning to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe*, *and a gracious God on my Side.*

Dr. *Juxon.* There is but one Stage more; this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one; but you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great Way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven, and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Diſturbance can be, no Diſturbance in the World.

Dr. *Juxon.* You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown; a good Exchange.

The King then ſaid to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well?* —— Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaying, *Remember.* —— Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waiſtcoat, put his Cloak on again; then, looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner. It is faſt, Sir.

King. When I put my Hands out this way (ſtretching them out) then ——

After that, having ſaid two or three Words as he ſtood, to himſelf, with Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately

diately ſtooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block; and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King ſaid (thinking he had been going to ſtrike) *Stay for the Sign.*

Execut. Yes, I will, and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

So, after a ſhort Pauſe, his Majeſty ſtretching forth his Hands, the Executioner (who was all the while in a Mask) at one Blow ſevered his Head from his Body; which being held up, and ſhewed to the aſtoniſh'd People, was, with his Body, put into a Coffin, cover'd with black Velvet, and carried into his Lodging-chamber in *Whitehall.*

It muſt be dreadfully remember'd, that the then cruel Powers did ſuſpect that the King would not ſubmit his Head to the Block; and therefore, to bring him down by Violence to it, they had prepared Hooks (made by a Smith in *Aldgate)* to hawl him as a Victim to the Slaughter. But, by the Example of his Saviour, he reſiſted not; he diſappointed their Wit, and yielded to their Malice.

Application was made to the Men in Power, for Leave to bury the Royal Corpſe in King *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel; but the Requeſt was denied, upon this Reaſon, that it might attract great Numbers of People to that Place, which might be inconvenient and unſafe: And therefore, upon a ſecond Addreſs to the Committee of Parliament, an Order was dated *February* 6, to authorize Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the King's Body in the Royal Chapel of St. *George*, within the Caſtle of *Windſor*. Hence the Body, being embalmed, and laid in a Coffin of Lead, to be ſeen by the People, was on *February* 7, carried from St. *James*'s, in a Hearſe, covered with black Velvet, and drawn by ſix Horſes, with four Coaches following, and ſo brought to *Windſor-Caſtle*, where the Order for Interment was ſhewn to the Governor, Col. *Whichcott*. Next Day came the Duke of *Rich-*

mond, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, and the Biſhop of *London*, with two Votes that Morning, whereby the ordering of the King's Burial was committed to the Duke, provided the Expences thereof exceeded not 500l. Theſe Lords agreed, that the King's Body ſhould be interred in a Vault about the Middle of the Choir, over-againſt the eleventh Stall upon the Sovereign's Side, in which Vault were laid the Bodies of King *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Jane Seymour*. This Vault being opened, the King's Body was brought from his Bed-Chamber into St. *George's-Hall*, and thence, with a ſlow and ſolemn Pace, carried by Gentlemen, the Lords following, and ſet down in the Choir near the Place of the Burial, where the Biſhop of *London* ſtood ready with the Service-book in his Hands, to have perform'd that laſt Duty by the Publick Form of Burial; but the rude Colonel would not ſuffer it to be done: And though the Lords earneſtly deſir'd it, and inſiſted on the Parliament's Leave for it, yet he ſtill denied, and ſaid, It was improbable the Parliament would permit the Uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act. So the Body was ſilently depoſited, with this Circumſcription in Capital Letters upon Lead,

KING CHARLES.
1648.

It has been a Queſtion and a Wonder by many, why a particular Monument was not erected for him after the Reſtauration of his Son, eſpecially when the Parliament was well inclined to have given a good Sum for that grateful Purpoſe. This has cauſed ſeveral Conjectures and Reflections; and Intimations have been given, as if the Royal Body had never been depoſited there, or elſe had been afterwards removed by the Regicides: And the Lord *Clarendon* himſelf ſpeaks ſoftly and ſuſpiciouſly of this Matter, as if he believ'd, that

that the Body could not be found. But, to remove all Imaginations, I ſhall here inſert a Memorandum, or Certificate, ſent by Mr. *John Sewel*, a Regiſter at *Windſor-Caſtle*: ‘ *Anno* 1696, *Sept.* 21. The ſame ‘ Vault in which King *Charles* I. was buried, was ‘ opened, to lay in a ſtill-born Child of the then Prin- ‘ ceſs of *Denmark*, our late gracious Queen. On the ‘ King's Coffin the Velvet Pall was ſtrong and ſound, ‘ and there was about the Coffin a Leaden Band, with ‘ this Inſcription cut through it, KING CHARLES, ‘ 1648.’ As a farther Memorandum relating to King ‘ *Charles*'s Interment, he ſays, ‘ That when the Body ‘ of King *Charles* I. lay in State in the Dean's Hall, ‘ the Duke of *Richmond* had the Coffin opened, and ‘ was ſatisfy'd that it was the King's Body. This ſe- ‘ veral People have declared they knew to be true, ‘ who were alive, and then preſent, as Mr. *Randolph* ‘ of *New Windſor*, and others.’ So that he thinks the Lord *Clarendon* was miſled in that Matter, and that King *Charles* II. never ſent to enquire after the Body; ſince it was well known, both to the Inhabitants of the Caſtle and Town, that it was in that Vault.

THE

Loyal Martyrology:

OR, AN

Account of the Sufferings of the Nobility, Gentry, and Others, who were inhumanly ſacrific'd for their Loyalty to their Sovereigns, King *Charles* I. and II. Rank'd according to Order of Time, from the Year 1641, to 1658. Together with their ſeveral Dying Speeches, and Deportments at the Places of Execution.

The Demeanour of the Earl of Strafford, *during (and after) his Tryal; together with his Dying Speech on the Scaffold on* Tower-Hill, *where he was beheaded,* May 12, 1641.

DURING his Tryal, which had laſted the Space of eighteen Days, the Earl behaved himſelf with great Shew of Humility and Submiſſion; and, in truth, made his Defence with all poſſible Dexterity, anſwering this Charge, and evading that, with all poſſible Skill and Eloquence. 'Tis very notorious, the proſecuting Party were ſo conſcious of the Earl's Innocence, that they were forced to change their Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder; which having paſſed the Commons, was carry'd up to the Lords, who agreed to hear the Matter of Law pleaded by the Council of Commons, among whom Mr. Solicitor *St. John* offered the two following inſufferable Arguments: 1. *That though the Teſtimony was not ſo clear, yet, in this way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conſcience was ſufficient, although*

although no Evidence had been given in at all. 2. *That the Earl had no Title to plead Law, becauſe he had broke the Law. It's true* (ſays he) *we give Law to Hares and Deers, becauſe they be Beaſts of Chace; but it was never accounted either Cruelty or foul Play to knock Foxes or Wolves on the Head as they can be found, becauſe they be Beaſt of Prey.*

While the Bill was depending in the Houſe, the King came, and ſending for the Commons, made a Speech in the Earl's Behalf, which did but the more inflame his ſworn Enemies, who pretended to diſcover Plots for his Eſcape, and enter into a Proteſtation taken by the Speaker, and moſt of the Members; and encourage Petitions and Clamours for *Juſtice*; and a black Liſt of the *Straffordians* to be poſted up, and cry'd about the Streets; till many of the Lords, for fear of Violence, abſented from their own Houſes; and the Biſhops declined voting in the Act, as well as appearing in the Tryal; 'Tho' it was not believ'd (ſays my Lord *Clarendon*) now the former Tryal and Way of Judicature was wav'd, the Biſhops would ſo ſtupidly (to ſay no worſe) exclude themſelves from voting in a Law which was to be an Act of Parliament.' So that in an Afternoon, when of the Fourſcore who had been preſent at the Tryal, there were only Six and Forty Lords in the Houſe (the People crying at the Doors for *Juſtice*) the Bill paſs'd with the Diſſent only of Eleven Peers.

The King was fully reſolved not to give his Conſent, and accordingly advis'd with his Privy Council, who moſt of 'em preſs'd him to paſs the Bill upon this Argument, *That he ought to be more tender of the Safety of the Kingdom, than of any one Perſon, how innocent ſoever.* The Biſhops in general reſolv'd him, *That he might not to go againſt his own Conſcience for any Conſiderations whatſoever.* But (ſays an * Hiſtorian) the Archbiſhop of

* Lord Clarendon.

Archbiſhop of *York* told him, *That there was a private and a publick Conſcience*; *That his publick Conſcience, as a King, might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to do that which was againſt his private Conſcience, as a Man.* And by ſuch imprelatical, ignominious Arguments, in plain Terms advis'd him, even for Conſcience-ſake, to paſs the Act.

While the King was under infinite Perplexities in his own Mind, and under the moſt imminent Danger of Aſſaults of the Rabble in his own Palace, who were taught the Word, *Juſtice! Juſtice!* the Earl wrote a Letter, *May* 11, from the *Tower*, to his Majeſty, to offer up his Life for a Sacrifice to the Publick: ——'With much Sadneſs, I am come to a Reſoluti-
'on of that which I take to be beſt becoming me,
'and to look upon it as that which is moſt principal
'in itſelf, which, doubtleſs, is the Proſperity of your
'ſacred Perſon, and the Commonwealth, Things in-
'finitely before any private Man's Intereſt. And
'therefore, in few Words, as I put myſelf wholly
'upon the Honour and Juſtice of my Peers, ſo clearly
'as to wiſh your Majeſty had ſpared that Declaration
'of your's on *Saturday* laſt, and entirely to have left
'me to their Lordſhips; ſo now, to ſet your Maje-
'ſty's Conſcience at Liberty, I do moſt humbly be-
'ſeech your Majeſty, for Prevention of Evils which
'may happen by your Refuſal, to paſs this Bill; and
'by this Means to remove (praiſed be God) I cannot
'ſay, this accurſed, but (I confeſs) this unfortunate
'Thing forth of the Way, towards that bleſſed
'Agreement, which God (I hope) ſhall ever eſtabliſh
'between you and your Subjects. Sir, my Conſent
'ſhall more acquit you herein to God, than all the
'World can do beſides: To a willing Man there is
'Injury done, and as by God's Grace I forgive all
'World, with a Calmneſs and Meekneſs of infir
'Contentment to my diſlodging Soul; ſo, Sir, to

'I

'I can give the Life of this World with all the Chear-
'fulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgment of
'your exceeding Favours, and only beg, that in your
'Goodneſs you would vouchſafe to caſt your gracious
'Regard upon my poor Son, and his three Siſters,
'leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than as their (in
'Priſon) unfortunate Father may hereafter appear
'more or leſs guilty of this Death.'

On *Fryday*, *May* 7. the Lords paſs'd the Bill of Attainder, and on the *Sunday*, *May* 9, the King, with the utmoſt Reluctancy, commiſſion'd the Lord *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, and two other Peers, to paſs it, together with the more fatal Bill for the Continuance of the preſent Parliament; which was accordingly done, *May* 10. The next Day, the King betray'd the Affliction of his Conſcience, by writing a Letter to the Lords, and ſending it by the Prince:

My Lords,

"I Did yeſterday ſatisfy the Juſtice of the King-
dom, by paſſing the Bill of Attainder againſt the
Earl of *Strafford*; but Mercy being as inherent and
inſeparable to a King, as Juſtice, I deſire at this time,
in ſome Meaſure, to ſhew that likewiſe, by ſuffering
that unfortunate Man to fulfil the natural Courſe of
his Life in a cloſe Impriſonment: Yet ſo, if ever he
make the leaſt Offer to eſcape, or offer directly or in-
directly to meddle in any Part of publick Buſineſs,
eſpecially with me, either by Meſſage or Letter, it
ſhall coſt him his Life, without farther Proceſs. This,
if it may be done without the Diſcontentment of my
People, will be an unſpeakable Contentment to me.
To which End, as, in the firſt Place, I by this Letter
do earneſtly deſire your Approbation, and, to indear it
more, have choſen him to carry it, that, of all your
Houſe, is moſt dear to me; ſo I deſire, that, by a
Conference, you will endeavour to give the Houſe of
Commons

Commons Contentment, aſſuring you, that the Exerciſe of Mercy is not more pleaſing to me, than to ſee both Houſes of Parliament conſent, for my Sake, that I ſhould moderate the Severity of the Law in ſo important a Caſe.

I will not ſay, that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy ſhall make me more willing, but certainly 'twill make me more chearful in granting your juſt Grievances, for if no leſs than his Life can ſatisfy my People, I muſt ſay, *Fiat Juſtitia*. Thus again commending the Conſideration of my Intentions to you, I reſt,

Your unalterable and affectionate Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

P. S. If he muſt die, 'twere Charity to reprieve him till *Saturday*.

On *Wedneſday*, *May* 12, the Earl was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*; as he paſſed near the Lodgings of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom he had deſired, by a Meſſage, to be at the Window, and to bleſs him as he went to Execution) he look'd up, and, bowing, ſaid, *My Lord, your Prayers, and your Bleſſing*. The Archbiſhop lifted up his Hands for the Sign of beſtowing both, but was ſo overcome with Grief, that he fell back in a Swoon; the Earl bowed again, and ſaid, *Farewel, my Lord; God protect your Innocency*. Many of the Spectators obſerved, that he walked more like a General at the Head of an Army, than a condemn'd Man. The Lieutenant deſired him to take Coach, for fear the People ſhould ruſh in upon him, and tear him in Pieces: *No*, ſaid he, *Maſter Lieutenant, I dare look Death in the Face, and I hope the People too; if that may give them better Content, it is all one to me*. Upon the Scaffold, attended by the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, the Earl of *Cleeveland*, his Brother,

Brother, Sir *George Wentworth*, and his own Chaplain, he deliver'd his Speech with a very compos'd and courageous Air, as follows:

The Earl of Strafford's *Speech upon the Scaffold*, May 12, 1641.

MY Lord Primate of *Ireland*, and my Lords, and the reſt of theſe noble Gentlemen, it is a great Comfort to me to have your Lordſhips by me this Day, becauſe I have been known to you a long time, and I now deſire to be heard a few Words.

I come here, my Lords, to pay my laſt Debt to Sin, which is Death; and through the Mercies of God, to riſe again to eternal Glory.

My Lords, if I may uſe a few Words, I ſhall take it as a great Courteſy from you; I come here to ſubmit to the Judgment that is paſſed againſt me; I do it with a very quiet and contented Mind; I do freely forgive all the World; a Forgiveneſs not from the Teeth outward (as they ſay) but from my Heart; I ſpeak in the Preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing Thought that ariſeth in me againſt any Man; I thank God, I ſay truly, my Conſcience bears me Witneſs, that in all the Honour I had to ſerve his Majeſty, I had not any Intention in my Heart, but what did aim at the joint and individual Proſperity of the King and his People, although it be my ill Hap to be miſconſtrued; I am not the firſt Man that hath ſuffered in this Kind: It is a common Portion that befals Men in this Life, righteous Judgment ſhall be hereafter; here we are ſubject to Error, and miſ-judging one another.

One Thing I deſire to be heard in, and do hope, that for Chriſtian Charity's ſake, I ſhall be believ'd; I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that I did always think Parliaments in *England* to be the happy Conſtitution of the Kingdom and Nation, and the beſt Means,

under God, to make the King and his People happy: As for my Death, I do here acquit all the World, and beſeech God to forgive them: In particular, I am very glad his Majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a Puniſhment, as the utmoſt Execution of this Sentence; I do infinitely rejoice in it, and in that Mercy of his, and do beſeech God to return him the ſame, that he may find Mercy when he hath moſt need of it. I wiſh this Kingdom all Proſperity and Happineſs in the World; I did it living, and now, dying, it is my Wiſh.

I profeſs heartily my Apprehenſion, and do humbly recommend it to you, and wiſh that every Man would lay his Hand on his Heart, and conſider ſeriouſly, whether the Beginning of the People's Happineſs ſhould be written in *Letters of Blood?* I fear they are in a wrong Way; I deſire Almighty God, that no one Drop of my Blood riſe up in Judgment againſt them. I have but one Word more, and that is for my Religion.

My Lord of *Armagh*, I do profeſs myſelf ſeriouſly, faithfully, and truly, to be an obedient Son of the Church of *England:* In that Church I was born and bred, in that Religion I have lived, and now in that I die; Proſperity and Happineſs be ever to it.

It hath been ſaid I was inclined to Popery; if it be an Objection worth the anſwering, let me ſay truly from my Heart, that ſince I was twenty-one Years of Age, unto this Day, going on forty-nine Years, I never had Thought, or Doubt, of the Truth of this Religion, nor had ever any the Boldneſs to ſuggeſt to me the contrary, to my beſt Remembrance.

And ſo being reconciled to the Mercies of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, into whoſe Boſom I hope ſhortly to be gathered, to enjoy eternal Happineſs, which ſhall never have an End; I deſire heartily to be forgiven of every Man, if any raſh or unadviſed Words or Deeds have

have paſſed from me; and deſire all your Prayers; and ſo, my Lord, farewel; and farewel all Things in this World.

The Lord ſtrengthen my Faith, and give me Confidence and Aſſurance in the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus; I truſt in God, we ſhall all meet to live eternally in Heaven, and receive the Accompliſhment of all Happineſs, where every Tear ſhall be wiped from our Eyes, and ſad Thoughts from our Hearts; and ſo God bleſs this Kingdom, and Jeſus have Mercy on my Soul.

After this Speech he pray'd out of the Common-Prayer-Book, laid by his Chaplain before him; and then uſed ſome private Devotions, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. Then, taking his Leave of his Brother, he ſaid, 'Brother, we muſt part; remember 'me to my Siſter, and to my Wife; and carry my 'Bleſſing to my eldeſt Son, and charge him from me, 'that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son of 'the Church of *England*, and that he approve himſelf 'a faithful Subject of the King; and tell him, that he 'ſhould not have any private Grudge or Revenge towards any concerning me; and bid him beware to 'meddle with Church Livings, for that will prove a 'Moth and a Canker to him in his Eſtate; and wiſh 'him to content himſelf to be a Servant to his Country, as a Juſtice of the Peace in his County, not 'aiming at higher Preferments. Carry my Bleſſing 'alſo to my Daughters *Anne* and *Arabella*; charge 'them to fear and ſerve God, and he will bleſs them, 'not forgetting my little Infant, that knows neither 'Good nor Evil, and cannot ſpeak for itſelf; God 'ſpeak for it, and bleſs it.' Then he ſaid, 'I have 'nigh done; one Stroke will make my Wife huſbandleſs, my dear Children fatherleſs, and my poor 'Servants maſterleſs, and ſeparate me from my dear

'Brother, and all my Friends; but let God be to 'you and them All in all.'

The Executioner ſtruck off his Head at one Blow: And ſo fell this noble Earl, who, if his Maſter could have ſaved him, might have been able to ſave his Maſter: This was indeed the Blow that by Degrees reach'd up to the King's own Head. Take his Character thus given by my Lord *Clarendon*: 'Thus fell 'the greateſt Subject in Power, and little inferior to 'any in Fortune, that was at that Time in any of 'the three Kingdoms; who could well remember the 'Time when he led thoſe People, that then purſued 'him to his Grave. He was a Man of great Parts, 'and extraordinary Endowments of Nature; not un-'adorn'd with ſome Addition of Art and Learning.'

Some Account of Alderman Yeomans, *and Mr.* George Bouchier; *with the Occaſion of their ſuffering Death at* Briſtol, May 30, 1643.

ALderman *Yeomans* had been High Sheriff of *Briſtol* in 1642, being but the Year before his execrable Murder. Mr. *George Bouchier* was an able, pious, loyal Gentleman, whom his very Enemies confeſſed to be a religious Man. Theſe two loyal Perſons, ſeeing the miſerable Condition of thoſe Places where the Rebels rul'd, enter'd into a Conſultation, with ſome others, how to deliver the City of *Briſtol* into Prince *Rupert*'s Hands; and thereupon it was reſolv'd, that upon *Monday*, *March* 7, 1642, Prince *Rupert*, with ſome Forces, ſhould draw down towards the City, whilſt they within ſhould ſeize the Court of Guards, and open the Gates; and, by ringing St. *John*'s and St. *Michael*'s Bells, give him Notice thereof: Accordingly, Prince *Rupert* came by Five of the Clock the next Morning, expecting the Signal; but the Con-

federacy

federacy being diſcover'd, thoſe two Gentlemen, with ſome others, were apprehended; and, after eleven Weeks hard Impriſonment, brought to a Tryal at a Council of War, where they were condemn'd to die, by *Nat. Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governor of that City for the Parliament; and ſoon after, notwithſtanding the King and his General's Mandates, and Threats of Retaliation, having with great Patience endur'd the Scorns and barbarous Inſults of the Enemy, who continually purſued them with Threats and Revilings; they were, on *March* 30, 1643, barbarouſly murder'd; Alderman *Yeomans* profeſſing at his Death, *That if he had more Lives, he would ſacrifice them all to his Sovereign that Way.* And Mr. *Bouchier*, in his laſt Speech, exhorted all thoſe who had ſet their Hands to the Plough (meaning the King's Cauſe) not to be terrify'd by their Sufferings, and therefore to withdraw.

They were honourably attended to their Graves (having left their Wives big with Child, and many Children behind them, to the mercileſs Rapine of the Enemy, an Object of their Charity, rather than Cruelty) the one to *Chriſt-Church*, and the other to St. *Warburgh*'s, in the ſame City.

The Execution of Mr. Tomkins, *and Mr.* Chaloner, *in* London, July 5, 1643.

MR. *Tomkins* was an accompliſh'd Perſon by Education, being Fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, where he was Tutor to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Briſtol*, having attended the old Earl into *Spain*, and other Parts, who recommended him to be Clerk of the Queen's Council, as the ableſt Man in *England*, for various Languages, a polite Pen, and a ſolid and reaching Head-piece. He was of good Fame for

for Honeſty and Ability, having great Intereſt and Reputation in the City, and converſing much with thoſe who diſlik'd the Proceedings of the Parliament, and wiſh'd to live under the ſame Government they were born; which gave him an Opportunity of informing himſelf of the Temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the publick Affairs.

Mr. *Chaloner* was a Citizen of good Repute and Credit in *Cornhill*, by Trade a Linendraper, and a moſt intimate Companion of Mr. *Tomkins*.

The Crime laid to their Charge, was, a Suſpicion of their being privy to a Plot, the Deſign of which was pretended, that they ſhould ſeize into their Cuſtody the King's Children, ſome Members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, all the City Outworks and Forts, the Tower of *London*, and all the Magazines; then to let in the King's Army, to ſurprize the City, and to deſtroy all Oppoſers; and this grounded upon Refuſal of paying of Taxes impoſed without Authority.

The Houſe of Commons, in Return to God for the wonderful Diſcovery of this Plot, kept a publick Thankſgiving, and took a ſolemn Vow and Covenant, which was likewiſe followed by the City and the Army: They then proceeded to try the two aforeſaid Sufferers, with ſeveral other Citizens, by a Council of War, by whom Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Chaloner* were condemn'd to be hang'd; and were both, with all Circumſtances of Severity and Cruelty, executed; Mr. *Tomkins* on a Gibbet by his own Houſe in *Holbourn*, where he had lived with ſingular Eſtimation, and near *Gray's-Inn*, whereof he was a Member; Mr. *Chaloner*, by his Houſe in *Cornhill*, near the *Old Exchange*, where he had been an eminent Citizen. They were very reſolv'd, and, in their dying Speeches, clear'd themſelves from ſome Miſtakes and Aſperſions, but repented

repented of being engaged ſo far in a *fooliſh Buſineſs*, as Mr. *Tomkins* there call'd it.

The Circumſtances of this Plot being ſomewhat remarkable, it may not be improper to ſubjoin my Lord *Clarendon*'s Opinion concerning it; 'That there 'was ever any form'd Deſign, either of the letting in 'the King's Army into *London*, which was impoſſible 'to be contriv'd, or of raiſing an Army there, and 'ſuppreſſing the Parliament, or any one Perſon of it, 'or of uſing any Violence in or upon the City *(ſays 'that noble Author)* I could never yet ſee Cauſe to be-'lieve; and if there had, they would have publiſh'd 'ſuch a Relation of it, after Mr. *Waller* had con-'feſs'd to them all he knew, had heard, or fancy'd to 'himſelf, as might have conſtituted ſome reaſonable 'Underſtanding of it; and not have contented them-'ſelves with making Concluſions from Queſtions that 'had been aſk'd, and Anſwers made by Perſons un-'known; and forcing Expreſſions uſed by one, to re-'late the Actions of another, between whom there 'had been never the leaſt Acquaintance or Correſpon-'dence, and joining what was ſaid at *London*, to 'ſomewhat done at *Oxford*, at another Time, and to 'another Purpoſe.'

An Account of the Sufferings of Mr. Daniel Kniveton, *and his Behaviour at the Place of Execution in* London, Nov. 27, 1643.

THE Occaſion of this Man's being put to Death may ſerve as an Inſtance to what a Height of Boldneſs and Severity the Enemies of the King had then arrived, and ſhews they would not admit of any Partner in the Sovereign Power. The King has publiſhed ſeveral Proclamations for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which hitherto had been in

in vain; and therefore he ſent two Special Meſſengers, who delivered Writs of Adjournment to two of the Judges, *Reeve* and *Trevor*, who immediately cauſed them to be apprehended: Upon which the Houſes gave Direction, That they ſhould be try'd as Spies, by a Council of War; which was done at *Eſſex* Houſe. The Meſſengers alledg'd, 'They were ſworn Servants to 'the King, for the Peformance of that Buſineſs of 'which they were accuſed; and for the Refuſal of which 'they had been legally puniſhable, the Term being to 'be adjourned no other Way.' Notwithſtanding which they were both condemn'd to be hang'd as Spies: And that ſuch a Sentence might not be thought to be only *in Terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within a few Days after, carried to the *Old Exchange*, where a Gallows was purpoſely ſet up; and there one of them, viz. *Daniel Knivetoη* (who had formerly been a Haberdaſher in *Fleet-ſtreet*) was without Mercy executed; dying with another Kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of ſuch Condition and Education, did not the Conſcience of being innocent, beget a marvellous Satisfaction in any State. The other, named *Carpenter*, after he had ſtood ſome time upon, or under, the Gallows, looking for the ſame Concluſion, was reprieved, and ſent to *Bridewell*, where he was kept long after, till he made his Eſcape, and returned to *Oxford*.

A perfect Relation of the Sufferings and Execution of the Moſt Reverend Father in God, WILLIAM, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: *With his Laſt Dying Speech and Deportment on the Scaffold,* Jan. 10, 1644.

THE Time between the Sentence and Execution he ſpent in Prayers and Applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without ſome Diffi-

Difficulty, a Chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to aſſiſt him in the Work of his Preparation: Though little Preparation needed to receive that Blow, which could not but be welcome, becauſe long expected; for ſo well was he ſtudied in the Art of Dying (eſpecially in the laſt and ſtricteſt Part of his Impriſonment) that, by continual Faſting, Watching, Prayers, and ſuch like Acts of Chriſtian Humiliation, his Fleſh was rarefied into Spirit, and the whole Man ſo fitted for eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but triumphant) Chariot to convey him thither. *Friday*, *Jan.* 10, 1644, the fatal Morning being come, he firſt applied himſelf to his private Prayers, and ſo continued till *Pennington*, and others of their publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold, which he aſcended with ſo brave a Courage, ſuch a chearful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than to be made a Sacrifice; and came not there to die, but to be tranſlated. And though ſome rude, uncivil People reviled him, as he paſſed along, with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in Peace, it never diſcompoſed his Thoughts, nor diſturbed his Patience; for he had profited ſo well in the School of *Chriſt*, that *when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatned, but committed his Cauſe to him that judgeth righteouſly.* And as he did not fear the Frowns, ſo neither did he covet the Applauſe of the vulgar Herd; and therefore rather choſe to read what he had to ſpeak unto the People, than to affect the Oſtentation either of Memory, or Wit, in that dreadful Agony; whether with greater Magnanimity, or Prudence, I can hardly ſay. As for the Matter of his Speech, beſides what did concern himſelf and his own Purgation, his great Care was to clear his Majeſty and the Church of *England* from any Inclination unto Popery; with a Perſuaſion

of the which, the Authors of the Miſeries of thoſe Times had abuſed the People, and made them take up Arms againſt their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the laſt! By means whereof, as it is ſaid of *Samſon*, in the Book of *Judges*, that *the Men which he ſlew at his Death, were more than they which he ſlew in his Life*; ſo it may be affirmed of this famous Prelate, that he gave a greater Blow unto the Enemies of God and the King at the Hour of his Death, than he had given them in his whole Life before. But this you will more clearly ſee by the Speech itſelf, which followeth here, according to the beſt and moſt perfect Copies, publiſhed by one of his Chaplains, and printed at *Oxford*.

Good People,

THIS is an uncomfortable time to preach; yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb.* xii. 2. *Let us run with Patience, that Race which is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of our Faith; who, for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame, and is ſet down at the Right-hand of the Throne of God.*

I have been long in my Race; and how I have *looked to Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of my Faith*, he beſt knows: I am now come to the End of my Race; and here I find the Croſs, a Death of Shame; but Shame muſt be deſpiſed, or no coming to the Right Hand of God. *Jeſus* deſpiſed the Shame for me; and God forbid but I ſhould deſpiſe the Shame for him. I am going apace (as you ſee) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very Brink of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promiſe, for that was the Way through which he led his People: But before they came to it, he inſtituted a Paſſover for them; a Lamb it was, but it muſt be eaten with four Herbs. I ſhall obey,

obey, and labour to digeſt the four Herbs, as well as the Lamb; and I ſhall remember it is the Lord's Paſſover; I ſhall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hand which gathered them; but look up only to him who inſtituted that, and governs theſe; for Men can have no more Power over me, than what is given them from Above. I am not in love with this Paſſage through the Red Sea, for I have the Weakneſs and Infirmities of Fleſh and Blood plentifully in me: And I have prayed, with my Saviour, *Ut tranſiret calix iſte*, that this Cup of Red Wine *might paſs from me*; but, if not, God's Will (not mine) be done; and I ſhall moſt willingly *drink of this Cup* as deep as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, yea, and paſs through it, in the Way that he ſhall lead me.

But I would have it remember'd (good People) that when God's Servants were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* among them, the *Egyptians* which perſecuted them (and did, in a manner, drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the ſame Waters, while they were in Purſuit of them. I know my God whom I ſerve is able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the Three Children from the Furnace; and (I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Reſolution is now, as theirs was then: *They would not worſhip the Image the King had ſet up*, nor will I the Imaginations which the People are ſetting up; nor will I forſake the Temple, and the Truth of God, to follow the Bleating of *Jeroboam*'s Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel*. And as for this People, they are at this Day miſerably miſled (God, of his Mercy, open their Eyes, that they may ſee the right Way) for at this Day the Blind lead the Blind; and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the Ditch. For myſelf, I am (and I acknowledge it in all Humility) a moſt grievous Sinner many ways, by Thought, Word, and Deed; and I can't doubt, but that God hath Mercy in Store

for me, a poor Penitent, as well as for other Sinners. I have now, upon this ſad Occaſion, ranſacked every Corner of my Heart; and yet, I thank God, I have not found, among the many, any one Sin which deſerves Death, by any known Law of this Kingdom. And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon Proof (by valuable Witneſſes) I, or any other Innocent, may be juſtly condemn'd; and I thank God, tho' the Weight of the Sentence lies heavy upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my Life. And though I am not only the firſt Archbiſhop, but the firſt Man that ever died by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet ſome of my Predeceſſors have gone this Way, though not by this Means; for *Elphegus* was hurried away, and loſt his Head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sudbury*, in the Fury of *Wat Tyler* and his Fellows. Before theſe, St. *John Baptiſt* had his Head danc'd off by a lewd Woman; and St. *Cyprian*, Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, ſubmitted his Head to a perſecuting Sword. Many Examples, great and good, and they teach me Patience; for I hope my Cauſe in Heaven will look of another Dye, than the Colour that is put upon it here. And ſome Comfort it is to me, not only that I go the Way of theſe great Men in their ſeveral Generations, but alſo, that my Charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the *Jews* againſt St. *Paul* (*Acts* xxv. 3.) for he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple, *i. e.* Religion: And like that of St. *Stephen* (*Acts* vi. 14.) for breaking the Ordinances which *Moſes* gave, *i. e.* Law and Religion, the holy Place, and the Temple (*ver.* 13.) But you will ſay, Do I then compare myſelf with the Integrity of St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*? No, far be that from me; I only raiſe a Comfort to myſelf, that theſe great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their Times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable, that St. *Paul*, who helped on this Accuſation againſt St. *Stephen*, did after fall

fall under the very ſame himſelf. Yea, but here's a great Clamour, that I would have brought in Popery; I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by: In the mean time, you know what the Phariſees ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, *If we let him alone, all Men will believe in him*, Et venient Romani, *and the Romans will come, and take away both our Place and Nation.* Here was a cauſeleſs Cry againſt Chriſt, *that the Romans will come.* And ſee how juſt the Judgment of God was; they crucified Chriſt, for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould come: And his Death was it which brought in the *Romans* upon them, God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared. And I pray God this Clamour of *Venient Romani*, of which I have given no Cauſe, don't help to bring them in; for the Pope never had ſuch a Harveſt in *England* ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Diviſions that are amongſt us. In the mean time, by Honour and Diſhonour, by good Report and evil Report, as a Deceiver, and yet true, am I paſſing through this World, 2 *Cor.* vi. 8.

And, firſt, this I ſhall be bold to ſpeak of the King, our Gracious Sovereign: He hath been much traduced alſo for bringing in of Popery; but, on my Conſcience (of which I ſhall give God a very preſent Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any Man living; and I hold him to be as ſound a Proteſtant (according to the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed) as any Man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or ſhould know, both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in *England*.

The ſecond Particular is concerning this great and populous City (which God bleſs)——Here hath been of late a Faſhion taken up, to gather Hands, and then go to the great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament) and clamour for *Juſtice!* as if that great and wiſe Court, before whom the Cauſes come, which are unknown

known to the Many, could not, or would not, do Juſtice, but at their Appointment. A Way which may endanger many an innocent Man, and pluck his Blood upon their own Heads, and, perhaps, upon their Cities alſo. And this hath been lately practiſed againſt myſelf (the Magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from Pariſh to Pariſh without Check)——God forgive the Setters of this, with all my Heart I beg it, but many well-meaning People are caught by it. In St. *Stephen*'s Caſe, when nothing elſe would ſerve, they ſtirred up the People againſt him: And *Herod* went the ſame Way, when he had kill'd St. *James*; yet he would not venture upon St. *Peter*, till he found how the other pleaſed the People. But take heed of having your Hands full of Blood, for there is a Time, beſt known to himſelf, when God, above other Sins, makes Inquiſition for Blood; and when that Inquiſition is on Foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, *That God remembers* (but that's not all he remembers) *and forgets not the Complaint of the Poor*; that is, whoſe Blood is ſhed by Oppreſſion, *ver.* 9. take heed of this, *'Tis a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the living God*, but then eſpecially when he is making Inquiſition for Blood; and with my Prayers to avert it, I do heartily deſire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expreſſed *Jer.* xxvi. 15.

The third Particular is the poor Church of *England*. It hath flouriſhed, and been a Shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when Storms have driven upon them. But, alas! now 'tis in a Storm itſelf, and God only knows whether, or how it ſhall get out; and, which is worſe than a Storm from without, it's become like an Oak cleft to Shivers with Wedges made out of its own Body, and at every Cleft Prophaneneſs and Irreligion is entering in, while, as *Proſper* ſpeaks (in his ſecond Book *De Vitæ Contemptu*, Cap. 4.) *Men that introduce Prophaneneſs are cloak'd over with the Name*

Name Religionis Imaginariæ, *of Imaginary Religion*; for we have loſt the Subſtance, and dwell too much in Opinion; and that Church which all the Jeſuits Machinations could not ruin, is fallen into Danger by her own.

The laſt Particular, for I am not willing to be too long, is myſelf: I was born and baptiz'd in the Boſom of the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law; in that Profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that I come now to die: This is no Time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in Matters of Religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remember'd, I have always lived in the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*, and in that I come now to die. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Church, all Men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now, at laſt, I am accuſed of High Treaſon in Parliament, a Crime which my Soul ever abhorred; this Treaſon was charged to conſiſt of theſe two Parts, *An Endeavour to ſubvert the Laws of the Land*, and a like *Endeavour to overthrow the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law*. Beſides my Anſwers to the ſeveral Charges, I proteſted my Innocency in both Houſes. It was ſaid, Priſoners Proteſtations at the Bar muſt not be taken. I can bring no Witneſs of my Heart, and the Intentions thereof; therefore I muſt come to my Proteſtation, not at the Bar, but my Proteſtation at this Hour and Inſtant of my Death; in which, I hope, all Men will be ſuch charitable Chriſtians, as not to think I would die and diſſemble, being inſtantly to give God an Account for the Truth of it. I do therefore, in the Preſence of God, and his holy Angels, take it upon my Death, that I never endeavour'd the Subverſion either of Law, or Religion; and I deſire you all to remember this Proteſt of mine

for

for mine Innocency, in theſe, and from all Treaſons whatſoever. I have been accuſed likewiſe as an Enemy to Parliaments. No, I underſtand them, and the Benefit that comes by them, too well to be ſo. But I did miſlike the Miſgovernment of ſome Parliaments many Ways, and I had good Reaſon for it. For *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, there is no Corruption in the World ſo bad, as that which is of the beſt Thing in itſelf; for the better the Thing is in Nature, the worſe it is corrupted. And, that being the higheſt Court, over which no other have Juriſdiction, when 'tis miſinformed, or miſ-governed, the Subject is left without all Remedy. But I have done; I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter Enemies which have perſecuted me, and humbly deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of every Man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg Forgiveneſs of him. And ſo I heartily deſire you to join in Prayer with me.

The Archbiſhop's Prayer upon the Scaffold.

O Eternal God, and merciful Father, look down upon me in Mercy; in the Richneſs and Fulneſs of all thy Mercies look upon me; but not till thou haſt nailed my Sins to the Croſs of Chriſt; not till thou haſt bathed me in the Blood of Chriſt; not till I have hid myſelf in the Wounds of Chriſt, that ſo the Puniſhment due unto my Sins may paſs over me. And ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the utmoſt, I humbly beſeech thee, give me now, in this great Inſtant, full Patience, proportionable Comfort, and a Heart ready to die for thy Honour, the King's Happineſs, and this Church's Preſervation. And my Zeal to theſe (far from Arrogance be it ſpoken) is all the Sin (human Frailty excepted, and all Incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this Particular, for which I now come to ſuffer; I ſay, in this Particular of Treaſon; but otherwiſe

otherwiſe my Sins are many and great. Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially, whatever they are, which have drawn down this preſent Judgment upon me; and when thou haſt given me Strength to bear it, do with me as ſeems beſt in thine own Eyes; and carry me through Death, that I may look upon it in what Viſage ſoever it ſhall appear to me, *Amen*. And that there may be a Stop of this Iſſue of Blood in this more than miſerable Kingdom *(I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the People too, as well as for myſelf)* O Lord, I beſeech thee, give Grace of Repentance to all Blood-thirſty People; but, if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their Devices, defeat and fruſtrate all their Deſigns and Endeavours upon them, which are or ſhall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the Truth and Sincerity of Religion, the Eſtabliſhment of the King, and his Poſterity after him, in their juſt Rights and Privileges, the Honour and Conſervation of Parliments in their juſt Power, the Preſervation of this poor Church in her Truth, Peace and Patrimony, and the Settlement of this diſtracted and diſtreſſed People under their ancient Laws, and in their native Liberties. And when thou haſt done all this in mere Mercy for them, O Lord, fill their Hearts with Thankfulneſs, and with religious dutiful Obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their Days: So, *Amen*, Lord Jeſus, *Amen*, and receive my Soul into thy Boſom, *Amen*.

Our Father, which art, &c.

The Speech and Prayer being ended, he gave the Prayer, which he read, unto Dr. *Sterne*, deſiring him to ſhew it to his other Chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this World, and ſo prayed God to ſhew his Mercies and Bleſſings on them. And noting how one *Hind* had employed himſelf in taking a Copy of his Speech, as it came from his Mouth, he deſired him not to do him Wrong, in publiſhing

liſhing a falſe or imperfect Copy. Which, as *Hind* promiſed him to be careful of, calling for Puniſhment from above, if he ſhould do otherwiſe; ſo hath he reaſonably well perform'd his Promiſe; the Alterations or Additions which occur therein, being perhaps the Work of thoſe who perus'd his Papers, and were to authorize them to the publick View, to fit it more to the Palate of the City Faction, and make it more conſiſtent with the Credit of thoſe guilty Men, who had voted to his Condemnation. This done, he next applied himſelf to the fatal Block, as to the Haven of his Reſt; but finding the Way full of People, who had placed themſelves upon the Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he deſired *he might have Room to die*, beſeeching them to let *him have an End of his Miſeries, which he had endured very long*. All which he did with ſo ſerene and calm a Mind, as if he had been rather taking Order for another Man's Funeral, than making Way unto his own. Being come near the Block, he put off his Doublet, and uſed ſome Words to this Effect; *God's Will be done*; *I am willing to go out of this World, no Man can be more willing to ſend me out of it.* And ſeeing through the Chinks of the Boards, that ſome People were got under the Scaffold, about the very Place were the Block was ſeated, he called on the Officers for ſome Duſt to ſtop them, or to move the People thence, ſaying, it was no Part of his Deſires, that his Blood ſhould fall upon the Heads of the People. Never did Man put off Mortality with a braver Courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Chriſtian Charity: And thus far he was gone on in his Way towards Paradiſe, with ſuch a primitive Magnanimity, as equal'd, if not exceeded, the Example of ancient Martyrs; when he was ſomewhat interrupted in his quiet Paſſage, by one Sir *John Clotworthy*, a Firebrand brought from *Ireland* by the Earl of *Warwick*, to increaſe the Combuſtions in this Kingdom,

dom, who finding that the Mockings and Revilings of malicious People had no Power to move him, or ſharpen him into any Diſcontent or Shew of Paſſion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his Spunge and Vinegar; and ſtepping to him near the Block, asked him (with ſuch a Purpoſe as the Scribes and Phariſees uſed to propoſe Queſtions to our Lord and Saviour) not to learn by him, but to tempt him, or to expoſe him to ſome Diſadvantage with the Standers-by, which was the comfortableſt Saying which a dying Man could have in his Mouth? To which he meekly made this Anſwer; *Cupio diſſolvi, & eſſe cum Chriſto*; i. e. *I deſire to be diſſolv'd, and to be with Chriſt.* Being asked again, What was the fitteſt Speech a Man could uſe, to expreſs his Confidence and Aſſurance? He anſwered with the ſame Spirit and Meekneſs, That ſuch *Aſſurance was to be found within, and that no Words were able to expreſs it rightly.* Which, when it would not ſatisfy the troubleſome and impertinent Man (who aimed at ſomething elſe than ſuch Satisfaction) unleſs he gave ſome Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon ſuch Aſſurance might be truly founded; he uſed ſome Words to this Effect, That it was the *Word of God concerning Chriſt*, and *his dying for us.* And ſo without expecting any further Queſtions (for he perceived, by the Manner of Sir *John*'s Proceedings, that there would be no End of his Interruptions, if he hearken'd any longer to him) he turned towards his Executioner (the gentler and diſcreeter Man of the two) and gave him Money, ſaying, without the leaſt Diſtemper or Change of Countenance, *Here, honeſt Friend, God forgive thee, and do thy Office upon me with Mercy*; and having given a Sign when the Blow ſhould come, he kneeled down upon his Knees, and pray'd as followeth:

LORD, I am coming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſs through the Shadow of Death before I can come to ſee thee: But it is but *Umbra Mortis*, a meer Shadow of Death, a little Darkneſs upon Nature; but thou by thy Merits and Paſſion haſt broke through the Jaws of Death. So, Lord, receive my Soul, and have Mercy upon me, and bleſs this Kingdom with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly Love and Charity, that there may not be this Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood amongſt them, for *Jeſus Chriſt*'s ſake, if it be thy Will.

Then laying his Head upon the Block, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he ſaid aloud, *Lord, receive my Soul*, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterouſly took it off at one Blow, his Soul aſcending on the Wings of Angels into *Abraham*'s Boſom, and leaving his Body on the Scaffold to the Care of Men; a Spectacle ſo unpleaſing unto moſt of thoſe who had deſir'd his Death with much Heat and Paſſion, that many who came with greedy Eyes to ſee him ſuffer, went back weeping when they ſaw him dead; their Conſciences perhaps bearing Witneſs to them, as you know whoſe did, that they *had ſinned in being guilty of ſuch innocent Blood.* Of thoſe, whom only Curioſity and Deſire of Novelty brought thither to behold that unuſual Sight, many had not the Patience to attend the Iſſue, but went away as ſoon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the Opinion which before they had of him, and better'd in their Reſolutions towards the King and the Church, whoſe Honour and religious Purpoſes they ſaw ſo clearly vindicated by this glorious Martyr. And for the reſt (the moſt conſiderable, tho' perhaps the ſmalleſt Part of that great Aſſembly) as they came thither with no other Intention than to aſſiſt him with their Prayers, to embalm his Body with their Tears, and to lay

lay up his dying Speeches in their Hearts and Memories: So, when they had perform'd thoſe Offices of Chriſtian Duty, they comforted themſelves with this, that as his Life was honourable, ſo his Death was glorious, the Pains whereof were ſhort and momentary to himſelf, the Benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were reſolved to live and die in the Communion of the Church of *England*.

It was obſerved, that whereas other Men, when they come to the Block, uſe to look pale, and wan, and ghaſtly, and are even dead before the Blow, he, on the contrary, ſeemed more freſh and chearful than he had done any part of the Day before; a clear and gallant Spirit being like the Sun, which ſhews greateſt always at the Setting. And, as the Scripture tells us of St. *Stephen*, the Protomartyr, that whilſt he ſpake his laſt Oration before the *Chief Prieſts and Elders of the Jews, they of the Council looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, ſaw his Face as if it had been of an Angel*: So was it generally obſerv'd, not without Aſtoniſhment, that all the while our Martyr pray'd upon the Block, the Sun, which had not ſhewn itſelf all the Day till then, did ſhine directly on his Face, which made him look moſt comfortably (that I ſay not glorioufly) but preſently, as ſoon as the Blow was given, withdrew behind a Cloud again, and appeared no more. As if the Bodies of us Men be capable of any Happineſs in the Grave, he had as great Share therein as he could deſire, or any of his Friends expect. His Body being accompanied to the Earth with great Multitudes of People, whom Love, or Curioſity, or Remorſe of Conſcience had drawn together, purpoſely to perform that Office, and decently interr'd in the Church of *Allhallows Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Juriſdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. On the Archbiſhop's Coffin was nailed a little

little Braſs Plate, with his Arms, and this Inſcription engraven thereon:

In hac Ciſtula conduntur Exuviæ Gulielmi Laud, *Archiepiſcopi* Cantuarienſis; *qui Securi percuſſus, Immortalitatem adiit Die* 10 Januarii, *Ætatis ſuæ* LXXII. *Archiepiſcopatus* XII.

In the Year 1663, his Body was remov'd from *All-hallows* Church in *London*, and being carried to *Oxford*, was there ſolemnly depoſited, *July* 24, in a little Brick Vault near to the Altar of the Chapel, in St. *John Baptiſt*'s College.

His laſt Character is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*. *He underwent his Sentence with all Chriſtian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders, and Confuſion of his Enemies. Much hath been ſaid of the Perſon of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities; to which ſhall be added no more in this Place (his Memory deſerving a particular Celebration) than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even the beſt of Men.*

The Murder of the Rev. Dr. Walter Raleigh, *at* Wells, October 10, 1646.

THO' the Blood of this very learned and excellent Perſon was not ſhed by Sentence of a *Council of War*, or a pretended *Court of Juſtice*, yet conſidering how far the Fury of thoſe rebellious Times contributed thereunto, and how by undeniable Conſequence many of the prevailing Rebels were Acceſſaries to the horrid Fact, and thereby became as guilty as the Wretch who had the Boldneſs to commit it; it may not be improper, in this Place, and according to Order of Time, to preſent the Reader with ſome ſhort Memoirs relating

to

to this truly Reverend Sufferer, as likewiſe, with the Manner of his execrable Murder.

He was ſecond Son of Sir *Carew Raleigh*, who was elder Brother to the famous Sir *Walter*: His excellent Parts engag'd him in a ſtrict Familiarity and Acquaintance with three Men, who were the Wonder of the Age they lived in, *viz.* Lord *Falkland*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Chillingworth*; he became Chaplain to the Earl of *Pembroke*, about the Time of whoſe lamented Death he likewiſe ſerv'd King *Charles* the Firſt in that Quality, when he was created D. D. in 1636. and admitted Dean of *Wells* in 1641. and had farther been promoted by the King, had not the unnatural War, which preſently after broke out, put an untimely End to both their Lives: At which Time he was ſequeſtred, plunder'd, and hurried from one Priſon to another, and ſtill immur'd there, where ſeveral Priſoners died of the Plague, till at laſt he was ſent Priſoner to *Ilcheſter*, the County Goal, thence to *Barnwell* Houſe, and from thence to the Houſe belonging to the Deanery in *Wells*, where he was committed to the Cuſtody of that moſt vile Wretch, *David Barret*, a Shoemaker, and at that Time a Conſtable of the City, who treated him far beneath his Quality and Function, and from being his Keeper, at laſt became his Murderer, as follows.

Whilſt the Committee of *Somerſet* were ſitting at *Wells*, the Doctor took an Occaſion of preferring a Requeſt to them for Liberty to viſit his Wife and Children, in order to ſettle ſome Affairs which very nearly concerned them; and for their Satisfaction and Security, a Gentleman of a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* offered to be bound for his Return at the Time they ſhould appoint him: But this common Favour being inhumanly denied him, the pious Doctor, in a modeſt Reſentment of ſo unreaſonable a Refuſal, reply'd; That it was very hard, that he, who aſk'd Leave ſhould not be permitted to go viſit his Family, and ſettle his neceſſary

neceſſary Affairs, whilſt others, who had no Leave from the Committee, had that Liberty allowed them for a Week, or a Fortnight. This Expreſſion of the Doctor's proved an Intimation to the Committee, that *Barret* the Goaler took a Liberty unwarrantable from them, of letting ſome of the Priſoners go abroad without their Privacy: Upon which they were angry with him, and threaten'd to turn him out, if ever he ſhould grant ſuch a Liberty to any Priſoner for the future. This Complaint of the Doctor's, and Reprimand of the Committee, ſo incenſed *Barret* (who indeed wanted no greater Inſtigation than his natural Ferity) that coming the next Morning into the Doctor's Chamber, who happened then to be writing to his Wife, to let her know he could not procure Leave to come and ſee her, *Barret*, ſuppoſing it might be a Letter to ſome Chevalier, offer'd to wreſt it out of the Doctor's Hand; who refuſed to deliver it to him, unleſs he could produce an Order from the Committee for that Purpoſe; and the Doctor's Strength preventing the Saucineſs of his Keeper, who could not by Force get the Letter from him, ſo far added to his former brutal Rage, that ſtepping back he drew his Sword, and ran it immediately into the good Man's Belly to his Back-Bone; upon which he tumbled out of his Chair as dead; but being brought to Life again by proper Applications, he continued in a languiſhing Condition about ſix Weeks, and then died of his Wounds, *October* 10, 1646, and was buried the 13th of the ſame Month, before the Dean's Stall in the Choir of the Cathedral Church of *Andrew* in *Wells*. Thus was the Blood of this great and good Man ſhed as the Blood of a Dog, to the great Grief of his Royal Maſter, and all his Loyal Subjects, that had the Happineſs to know him.

Nor was this all: For tho' his Widow proſecuted the vile Murderer two Aſſizes ſucceſſively, ſhe was ſo far from bringing him to condign Puniſhment, that ſhe could

could not obtain the common Juſtice of bringing him to a Trial; and ſhe falling ſick before the third Aſſize came, and not able to attend, the Aſſaſſin had the Impudence to appear, and, by the Partiality and Favour of the Court, was acquitted: And what is yet ſtill more wonderful, that vile Committee ſo far indulged this execrable Murder, that they ſent forth their Warrants to apprehend the Doctor's eldeſt Son, Mr. *George Raleigh*, becauſe he was inſtrumental in carrying on the Proſecution againſt *Barret*, inſomuch that he was forced to fly his Country for Security, or might have ſhared the Doctor's Fate for being his Father's Son, or offering to do Juſtice to his Memory. After Mr. *George Raleigh*'s withdrawing himſelf, *Barret* was releaſed, and by the aforeſaid Committee reſtored to his Place. Nor did their Rage and Malice ſtop here; for the ſame Committee apprehended, impriſoned, and kept in Cuſtody (to the very Hour of his Death) one Mr. *Standiſh*, a Clery-Vicar of the Church of *Wells*, becauſe he had given Dr. *Raleigh* Chriſtian Burial, that is, had bury'd him by the *Common-Prayer*.

It is a very uſeful Remark which Biſhop *Patrick* makes in his Preface to our Author's Sermons and Diſcourſes: 'Thus fell, *ſays he*, this excellent Perſon; 'in whoſe Writings I beſeech all the Authors and 'Abettors of the late Confuſions, who ſtill ſurvive, 'to ſee what kind of Men they perſecuted in their 'blind Rage; that it may be a Warning to them for 'ever, and that they may give their Poſterity a Charge, 'to beware how they let looſe the like furious Paſſion 'in Time to come. By which, as an unknown 'Writer ſpeaks concerning another of thoſe Sufferers '(Dr. *Stuart*) they either robbed themſelves of thoſe 'holy Men and Means, which God had given them; 'or elſe exchanged Gold for Counters, the Cherubims 'of the Temple for the Calves of *Bethel*.'

It is very remarkable what Dr. *Walker*, in his Account of the *Suffering Clergy* of thoſe Times, obſerves of this barbarous Aſſaſſin: 'As for *Barret* (ſays he) 'the Miſcreant that murder'd Dr. *Raleigh*, I am in-'formed, by a very ancient Gentleman of *Wells*, that 'he was a *Renegade Welſhman*, and not worth one 'Groat when he came to *Wells*; but afterwards, by 'plundering, and other ſuch Practices of thoſe Times, 'he had got an Eſtate of about ſixteen Pounds *per* '*Annum* (which obſerve by the way is now crumbled 'away to nothing) and that having marry'd a Woman 'in *Wells*, there was another from *Wales*, that had 'two Children by him, came after him, and ſued 'him for her Husband. Such was this reforming 'Saint (exactly agreeable to the Principles of thoſe 'impious Times) whom neither Murder nor Adultery 'could blemiſh; however, he muſt ſtill be continued 'in the Favour and Service of the Committee, as one 'of the Godly. I have been further informed at '*Wells* (continues he) that the Sifter of this Fellow's 'Wife had her Mouth drawn back to her Neck in a 'moſt frightful and diſmal Manner, and expired in 'that Poſture; crying out on her Death-bed, that her 'Brother-in-law had made her damn her Soul by falſe 'Swearing, becauſe ſhe had upon her Oath depoſed, 'that Dr. *Raleigh* ſtruck *Barret* firſt.'

The Tryal and Execution of Capt. Burly, *at* Wincheſter, Feb. 10, 1647.

WHILE the King was under Confinement in the *Iſle of Wight*, he was made ſo cloſe a Priſoner, that Col. *Hammond*, the Governor, had cauſed all his Servants, who till then had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Caſtle; and forbid any of them to repair thither any more;

more; and appointed a ſtrong Guard to reſtrain any body from going to the King, if they ſhould endeavour it.

This ſtrange Proceeding put the Iſland into a high Mutiny. They ſaid, *They would not endure to ſee their King ſo uſed, and made a Priſoner.* And there was at that Time one Capt. *Burly*, a Perſon of a good Family in the Iſland, who had been a Commander in his Majeſty's Fleet, and put out of Commiſſion when they rebelled againſt the King, and was afterwards an Officer of good Account in the King's Army, to the End of the War. This Gentleman being by chance at *Newport*, indiſcreetly cauſed a Drum to be beaten, and put himſelf at the Head of the People, who flock'd together, and cry'd, *For God, the King, and the People*; and ſaid, *He would lead them to the Caſtle, and reſcue the King from his Captivity.* This Attempt was ſoon diſcerned to be raſh and impracticable; and by the Diligence of the King's Servants, juſt put out of the Caſtle, the People were quieted, and all returned to their Houſes.

But the poor Gentleman paid dear for his unſeaſonable Loyalty. For *Hammond* caus'd him preſently to be made a Priſoner, and ſent him over to *Wincheſter*, where the Parliament, without Delay, ſent down a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for ſuch Services, preſided; who caus'd this Gentleman to be, with all Formality, indicted of High Treaſon, *for levying War againſt the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War*, of which a pack'd Jury found him guilty; whereupon their Judge condemn'd him, and the unfortunate Captain was, with all Circumſtances of Barbarity and Cruelty, forthwith hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, *Feb.* 10, 1647; which ſtruck a wonderful Terror into

all Men, and made a deeper Impreſſion upon them, than all the Severities they had exercis'd in their Courts of War.

The Manner of the Sufferings of Sir Charles Lucas, *and Sir* George Liſle, *who were ſhot to Death at* Colcheſter, Aug. 30, 1648.

THE *Scots* Army had been lately defeated, from which thoſe noble Perſons aſſembled in the Town of *Colcheſter* had expected Relief, in Hopes whereof, they had held out with incredible Courage and Conſtancy. The Siege continued ten Weeks, accompanied with the moſt exceſſive Rains, Floods, and diſmal Weather, till the Beſieged having almoſt conſumed their Horſes, Dogs, and Cats, and what elſe was no leſs abhorrent to Nature, and being now utterly diſappointed of their Hopes by the Defeat of the Duke of *Hamilton*, had taken a Reſolution to force their Way thro' the Enemies, or die nobly; but ſome unworthy Spirits having infuſed a Belief into the common Soldiers, that the Commanders and Gentlemen deſigned to leave them to the Enemy's Mercy, if the Deſign fail'd; ſo they were compelled, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, to ſurrender upon ſuch Conditions as the Enemy would grant them; which being concluded, the Lord *Fairfax* entered the Town, and called a Council of War, before whom Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, were conven'd; and, without being call'd to anſwer for themſelves, they were convey'd to the Caſtle, whither immediately *Ireton* came, and told them, *They muſt prepare themſelves to die.* Whereupon Sir *Charles* ask'd him, *By what Law?* To which the other reply'd, *It was by Vote of the Council of War, according to an Order of Parliament, by which all found in Arms were to be pro-*

proceeded againſt as Traytors. Sir *Charles* then deſired to be reſpited till the Morning, but was deny'd by *Ireton:* Upon which he continued; *Sir, do not think that I make this Requeſt out of a Deſire to live, for I ſcorn to ask Life at your Hands; but that I might have Time to make ſome Addreſſes to God above, and ſettle ſome Things below: But ſince it will not be by your Charity, I muſt ſubmit to the Mercy of God; do your worſt, I ſhall ſoon be ready for Execution.* Sir *George Liſle* likewiſe deſir'd ſome Reſpite to write to his Father and Mother, but was deny'd. So having had ſome private Prayers with the Chaplain, and receiv'd the Sacrament, they were led to the Place of Execution. The firſt brought to the Place was Sir *Charles Lucas*, who told them, *He had often look'd Death in the Face, and they ſhould ſee he durſt die*; and ſo, after ſome private Prayers, he unbutton'd his Doublet, ſhewed them his Breaſt, and ſet his Hands to his Sides, calling out, *See, I am ready for you*; *Rebels, Do your worſt!* At which Words they immediately fir'd, and ſhooting him in four Places, he fell. Whereupon Sir *George Liſle* ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him; then, turning to the Spectators, he ſaid, *How many of your Lives have I ſaved in hot Blood, and muſt myſelf be barbarouſly murdered in cold! But what durſt they not do, who would willingly deſtroy my dear Sovereign! for whoſe Deliverance, and Peace to this poor Nation, I dedicate my laſt Prayers to Heaven.* Then, looking upon the Executioners, and thinking them at too great a Diſtance, he bad them come nearer: At which one of them ſaid, *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you.* He anſwer'd, ſmiling, *Friends, I have been nearer to you, when you have miſs'd me:* And ſo being fired at all at once, he fell to the Ground, without ſpeaking. Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* was ready for Execution; but, being an *Italian*, and a Perſon of ſome Intereſt in his own Country, his Life was ſpared.

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The two valiant Knights were both buried in the the ſame Grave, in the Pariſh-Church of St. *Giles*, ſtanding without the Walls of *Colcheſter*, and in the Gift of *John* Lord *Lucas*, deceas'd, who lies there buried alſo, and who, after the Reſtauration of King *Charles* II. laid a large flat Marble Stone, with an Inſcription (to perpetuate the Memory of the two aforeſaid Sufferers) cut in Letters very deep and large, to prevent the wearing of them out by Time, or other Accidents; which is as follows:

Underneath this Marble lie the Bodies of Sir Charles Lucas, *and Sir* George Liſle, *Knights, two valiant Captains for the King, who, upon the 28th of* Auguſt, 1648, *were by Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *then General of the Parliament Forces, barbarouſly murder'd in cold Blood.*

The Execution of Colonel Poyer, *who was ſhot to Death in* Covent-Garden; *as likewiſe of Major* Pitcher, *who underwent the ſame Fate over-againſt St.* Faith's, *Dec.* 29, 1648; *and Major* Monday, *at* Lancaſter.

COlonel *Poyer*, with Major-General *Langhorne*, and Colonel *Powel*, three valiant *Welſhmen*, had taken up Arms for the King in their own Country, in Deteſtation of thoſe bloody Votes of Non-Addreſſes by the Faction at *Weſtminſter*: But it pleaſed God not to ſucceed that Enterprize, being defeated by Col. *Horton*; whereupon they retreated with the broken Remains of their Army to the Town of *Pembroke*, which they fortified, and valiantly defended for the Space of three Months, againſt *Horton* and *Cromwell*, who with a great Power was come in to their Recruit; but wanting Neceſſaries, and hopeleſs of Relief, Valour was forced to condeſcend to what Barbarity ſhould pro-

propound, which was, to render at Mercy; the Effect whereof was, according to the Order of a Council of War, that the three Colonels ſhould draw Lots for their Lives, which happen'd to fall upon this unfortunate Gentleman, who was thereupon ſhot to Death in *Covent-Garden*.

Major *Pitcher* was likewiſe another valiant Loyaliſt, who, out of a Senſe of the King and Kingdom's Miſery, and a deep Apprehenſion of the ſad Conſequences thereof, engaged in Arms for the Reſtitution of his ſacred Majeſty, being among the Number of thoſe, who with ſo much Valour and Magnanimity defended *Pembroke*, till they were obliged to ſurrender upon Articles, by which he was, to depart the Kingdom for three Years, and not to return on Pain of Death; but accounting it baſe to deſert his Prince, and hoping there might be farther Occaſion of Service to his Majeſty, by reaſon the ſtrange Actions of the *Weſtminſter Junto* had made them odious to the Generality of People, he ſtay'd in *London*; and being betray'd by ſome ignominious Wretches, was apprehended and condemned by a Council of War, and, according to their inhuman Sentence, was barbarouſly murder'd, being ſhot to Death, almoſt over-againſt St. *Faith*'s Door, *December* 29, 1648.

N. B. About the ſame time Major *Monday* was ſhot to Death at *Lancaſter*. There were likewiſe ſome others ſlaughter'd on the ſame Account, becoming unhappy Monuments of unfortunate Loyalty, and the Regicides Cruelty.

The Execution of the Reverend Mr. Beaumont, *who was hang'd at* Pontefract, Feb. 15, 1648-9.

THIS Reverend Gentleman was Chaplain to the Garriſon of *Pontefract* for his Majeſty, the whole Deſign of ſeizing of which, was laid at his Houſe, within five Miles of that Caſtle. He had the Character of an Orthodox Divine, and was noted for his loyal and conſtant Adherence to the King's Cauſe, and holding Correſpondence in Cyphers with ſome active Royaliſts, as Major *Morrice* the Governor, *&c.* but being diſcovered by an intercepted Letter, he was ſeiz'd, impriſon'd, and had extreme heavy Irons laid upon him; and becauſe he would not diſcover thoſe who were concerned with him, he was try'd by a Council of War, and executed within the Compaſs of two Hours, *Feb.* 15, 1648. And to complete this outrageous Barbarity, one of his neareſt Relations was forced to have a Hand in the Execution. He left behind him a Wife and four ſmall Children, with little or nothing to maintain them.

The ſeveral Speeches and Deportments of Duke Hamilton, *the Earl of* Holland, *and the Lord* Capel, *immediately before their Execution, upon the Scaffold, in the* Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, *on* Friday, March 9, 1649.

UPON *Friday*, *March* 9, 1649, being the Day appointed for the Execution of the Sentence of Death upon Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, about ten o'Clock that Morning, Lieutenant-Colonel *Beecher* came with his Order to the ſeveral Priſoners at St. *James*'s, requiring them to come away. According to which Order, they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard, to Sir *Thomas Cotton*'s Houſe,

Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where they continued about the Space of two Hours, paſſing moſt of that Time in religious and ſeaſonable Conferences with the Miniſters there preſent with them. After which, being call'd away to the Scaffold, it was deſired, that before they went, they might have the Opportunity of commending their Souls to God by Prayer; which being readily granted, and the Room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was deſired by the Earl of *Holland* to take that Pains with them; which was accordingly done, with great Appearance of ſolemn Affections among them. Prayer being concluded, and hear Thanks returned by them to the Miniſters who performed, as alſo the reſt who were their Aſſiſtants in this ſad Time of Trouble, the Duke of *Hamilton* prepared firſt to go to the Place of Execution; and, after mutual Embraces, and ſome ſhort ejaculatory Expreſſions to and for his Fellow-Sufferers, he took his Leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had choſen for his Comforter in this his ſad Condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the *New Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, over-againſt the great Hall Gate, in the Sight of the Place where the High Court of Juſtice formerly ſate (the Hall-Doors being open) there was his Excellency's Regiment of Horſe, commanded by Captain *Diſher*, and ſeveral Companies of Colonel *Hewſon*'s, and Colonel *Pride*'s Regiments of Foot drawn up in the Place. When the Duke came from *Weſtminſter-Hall* near the Scaffold, he was met by the Under-Sheriff of *Middleſex*, and a Guard of his Men, who took the Charge of him from Lieutenant-Colonel *Beecher*, and the Partizans that were his Guards; the Sheriff of *London* being alſo, according to Command from the High Court of Juſtice, preſent, to ſee the Execution perform'd.

Duke *Hamilton* being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his Servants waiting upon him, he ſpake firſt to the Doctor, as followeth:

Duke. Whether ſhall I pray firſt?

Dr. *Sibbald.* As your Lordſhip pleaſes.

Duke. My Lord of *Denbeigh* has ſent to ſpeak with me. ——— I know not the Faſhion; I may ask you, Sir; Do thoſe Gentlemen expect I ſhould ſay any Thing to them, or no? They cannot hear.

Dr. *Sibbald.* There will be a greater Silence by and by. It will not be amiſs, if your Lordſhip defer your ſpeaking, till you hear from his Lordſhip.

Duke. There is ſomething in it; he was with me in the Houſe.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I ſuppoſe he would give no Interruption to your Lordſhip at this Time, were there not ſomething of Concernment in it.

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful Servant to the State, and he was in great Eſteem and Reputation with them. He is in the Hall, and ſent to ſpeak with a Servant of mine, to ſend ſomething to me.

Dr. *Sibbald.* It will not lengthen the Time much, if you ſtay while you have a Return from him. —— My Lord, you ſhould do well to beſtow your Time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free Mercy of God in Chriſt for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-ſtreaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our Sins, even the Sins of the deepeſt Dye: The Blood of Jeſus Chriſt waſhes away all our Sins, and that Blood of Chriſt is poured forth upon all ſuch as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: *God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the End, that whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting Life:* That is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you muſt chiefly reſt, and labour to fix yourſelf in the free Mercy

Mercy of God through Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe Mercies are from Everlaſting to Everlaſting, unto all ſuch as with the Eye of Faith behold him: Behold Jeſus, the Author and Finiſher of our Salvation, who hath ſatisfied the Juſtice of God by that All-ſufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Croſs for the Sins of the whole World; ſo that the Sting of Death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath ſanctify'd it as a Paſſage to everlaſting Bleſſedneſs: It is true, the Waters of *Jordan* run ſomewhat rough and ſurly betwixt the Wilderneſs and our Paſſage into *Canaan*; but let us reſt upon the Ark, my Lord, the Ark Chriſt Jeſus, that will carry us through and above all thoſe Waves, to that Rock of Ages, which no Flood nor Waves can reach unto, and to him who is yeſterday, to-day, and the ſame for ever; againſt whom, the Powers and Principalities, the Gates of Hell ſhall never be able to prevail: Lift up, and faſten your Eyes now upon Chriſt crucify'd, and labour to behold Jeſus ſtanding ready at the Right-hand of his Father (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your Soul, when it ſhall be ſeparated from this frail and mortal Body: Alas, no Man would deſire Life, if he knew beforehand what it were to live, it is nothing but Sorrow, Vexation and Trouble, Grief and Diſcontent, that waits upon every Condition, whether publick or private; in every Station and Calling there are ſeveral Miſeries and Troubles, that are inſeparable from them; therefore what a bleſſed Thing is it to have a ſpeedy and comfortable Paſſage out of this raging Sea, into the Port of everlaſting Happineſs? We muſt paſs through a Sea, but it is the Sea of Chriſt's Blood, in which never Soul ſuffered Shipwreck, in which we muſt be blown with Winds and Tempeſts; but they are the Gales of God's Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary Winds of Diffidence in his Mercy.

Here one acquainting the Duke his Servant was coming, he anſwer'd, So, Sir; and turning to the Under-Sheriff's Son, he ſaid, Sir, have you your Warrant here?

Sheriff. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command! —— I take this Time, Sir, of ſtaying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbigh*'s ſending to ſpeak with me; I know not for what it is he deſires me to ſtay.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I preſume Mr. *Sheriff* will not grudge your Lordſhip a few Minutes Time, when ſo great a Work as this is at Hand.

His Lordſhip's Servant being returned, and having delivered his Meſſage to the Duke privately, he ſaid, *So, it is done now.* And then, turning to the Front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the reſt of the Place) there was a great Concourſe of People, he thus deliver'd himſelf:

I Think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much: There are many Gentlemen and Soldiers there that ſee me; but my Voice truly is ſo weak, ſo low, that they cannot hear me; neither truly was I ever at any Time ſo much in Love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſs, that I took Delight in it; yet this being the laſt Time I am to do ſo, by a Divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this End juſtly for my Sins; I ſhall, to you, Sir, Mr. *Sheriff*, declare thus much as to the Matter that I am now to ſuffer for; which is, as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *England:* Truly, Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no Difference; I never intended either the Generality of its Prejudice, or any particular Man's in it; what I did, was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whoſe Command I could not diſobey, without running into the ſame Hazard

Hazard there, of that Condition that I am now in: The Ends, Sir, of that Engagement are publick, they are in Print, and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecify them.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordſhip's Face, as you ſpeak.

Duke. No, Sir, it will not burn it.——I hope I ſhall ſee a brighter Sun than this, Sir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun of Righteouſneſs, my Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was ſaying, Sir) It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruin'd; and I, as their General, cloathed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here now ready to die: I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I ſaid in my own Defence at the Court of *Juſtice*, myſelf being ſatisfied with the Commands that are laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the Juſtneſs of their Procedure, according to the Laws of this Land. God is juſt, and, howſoever, I ſhall not ſay any thing as to the Matter of the Sentence, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his divine Providence; and I acknowledge, that very many Ways I deſerve even a worldly Puniſhment, as well as hereafter; for we are all Sinners, Sir, and I a great one; yet, for my Comfort, I know there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer ſits at his Right-hand, and am confident *(clapping his Hand to his Breaſt)* is mediating for me at this Inſtant; I am hopeful, thro' his free Grace, and all-ſufficient Merits, to be pardoned of my Sins, and to be received into his Mercy; upon that I rely, truſting to nothing but the free Grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt: I have not been tainted with my Religion (I thank God for it) ſince my Infancy, it has been ſuch as hath been profeſs'd in the Land, and eſtabliſhed; and now it is not this Religion, or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of Men that it is to be built upon; 'tis but one that is right, one that's ſure, and that comes from God,

Sir,

Sir, and in the free Grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly ſomething, that (had I thought my Speech * would have been thus taken) I would have digeſted it into ſome better Method than now I can, and ſhall deſire theſe Gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this Manner be publiſhed to my Diſadvantage; for, truly, I did not intend to have ſpoken thus when I came here.

There are, Sirs, terrible Aſperſions have been laid upon myſelf, truly ſuch, as I thank God I am free from, as if my Actions and Intentions had not been ſuch as they were pretended for; but that notwithſtanding what I pretended was for the King, there was nothing leſs intended than to ſerve him in it. I was bred with him for many Years, I was his Domeſtick Servant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventured my Life one way, and now I loſe it another way, and that was one of the Ends; as to the King, I ſpeak only of that, becauſe the reſt has many Particulars, and to clear myſelf from ſo horrid an Aſperſion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other Deſign known to me by the In-coming of the Army, than what is really in the Declaration publiſhed. His Perſon, I do profeſs, I had Reaſon to love, as he was my King, and as he had been my Maſter; it has pleaſed God now to diſpoſe of him ſo as it cannot be thought Flattery to have ſaid this, or any End in me for the ſaying of it, but to free myſelf from that Calumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by it, yet Truth is that which we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken, Sir, of an Invitation into this Kingdom; it's mention'd in that Declaration; and truly to that I did and do remit myſelf: And I have been very much laboured for Diſcoveries of theſe Inviters; 'tis no Time to diſſemble: How willing

* Obſerving the Writers.

ling I was to have ſerved in this Nation in any thing that was in my Power, is known to very many honeſt, pious, and religious Men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have ſerved them, if it had pleaſed them to have preſerved my Life, in whoſe Hands there was a Power: They have not thought it fit, and ſo I am become unuſeful in that which willingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt, Sir, ſo I ſay now concerning that Point; I wiſh the Kingdom's Happineſs, I wiſh it Peace; and truly, Sir, I wiſh that this Blood of mine may be the laſt that is drawn; and howſoever I may perhaps have ſome Reluctancy with myſelf, as to the Matter of my Fact, for my ſuffering for my Fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry no Rancour along with me to my Grave; his Will be done, that hath created both Heaven and Earth, and me, a poor miſerable ſinful Creature, now ſpeaking before him. For me to ſpeak, Sir, to you of State Buſineſs, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my Opinion in that, or for any thing in that Nature, truly it is to no End, it contributes nothing; my own Inclination hath been to Peace from the Beginning, and it is known to many, that I never was an ill Inſtrument betwixt the King and his People: I never acted to the Prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my Prayers to God Almighty for the Happineſs of the King; and truly I ſhall pray ſtill, that God may ſo direct him, as that may be done, which ſhall tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to ſay, that I remember of; I think I have ſpoken of my Religion.

Dr. *Sibbald.* Your Lordſhip has not ſo fully ſaid it.

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did ſay ſomething.

Dr. *Sibbald.* I know you did; 'tis pleaſing to hear it from your Lordſhip again.

Duke.

Duke. Truly, Sir, for the Profeſſion of my Religion, that which I ſaid was the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and that which I have practiſed in my own Kingdom, where I was born and bred; my Tenets need not to be expreſs'd, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid Opinion; many godly Men there are, that may have Scruples, which do not concern me at all at no Time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more than at any Time; differing in Opinion does not move me, (not any Man's) my own is clear, Sir: the Lord forgive me my Sins, and I forgive freely all thoſe, that even I might (as worldly Man) have the greateſt Animoſity againſt: We are bidden to forgive, Sir; 'tis a Command laid upon us (and there mention'd) *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.*

Dr. *Sibbald.* 'Tis our Saviour's Rule; *Love your Enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, pray for them that perſecute you, do Good to them that deſpitefully uſe you.*

Duke. Sir, It is high Time for me to make an End of this; and truly I remember no more that I have to ſay, but to pray to God Almighty in a few Words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. SIBBALD, he prayed thus:

MOST Bleſſed Lord, I thy poor and moſt unworthy Servant, come unto thee, preſuming in thy infinite Mercy, and the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſits upon the Throne; I come flying from that of Juſtice to that of Mercy and Tenderneſs, for his Sake which ſhed his Blood for Sinners; that he would take Compaſſion upon me, that he would look upon me as one that graciouſly hears me, that he would look upon me as one that hath redeemed me, that he would look upon me as one that hath ſhed his Blood for me, that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes

hopes to be ſaved by his all-ſufficient Merits. For his Sake, glorious God, have Compaſſion upon me in the Freeneſs of thy infinite Mercy, that when this ſinful Soul of mine ſhall depart out of this frail Carcaſs of Clay, I may be carried into everlaſting Glory; O Lord, by thy free Grace, and out of thy infinite Mercy, hear me; and look down, and have Compaſſion upon me; and thou, Lord Jeſus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my Redeemer, hear me, take Pity upon me, take Pity upon me, gracious God, and ſo deal with my Soul, that by thy precious Merits I may attain to thy Joy and Bliſs; O Lord, remember me, ſo miſerable and ſinful a Creature; now thou, O Lord, thou, O Lord, that diedſt for me, receive me, and receive me into thine own Bound of Mercy; O Lord, I truſt in thee, ſuffer me not now to be confounded; *Satan* has had too long Poſſeſſion of this Soul, O let him not now prevail againſt it; but let me, O Lord, from henceforth, dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy Time to hear me; hear me, gracious Jeſus, even for thy own Goodneſs, Mercy, and Truth; O glorious God, O bleſſed Father, O holy Redeemer, O gracious Comforter, O holy and bleſſed Trinity, I do render up my Soul into thy Hands, and commit it, with the Mediation of my Redeemer, praiſing thee for all thy Diſpenſations that it hath pleaſed thee to confer upon me; and even for this, Praiſe and Honour, and Thanks, from this Time forth for evermore.

Then the Duke, turning to the Executioner, ſaid, *Shall I put on another Cap? Muſt this Hair be turned up from my Neck? There are three of my Servants to give Satisfaction.* —— *Which Way is it that you would have me lie, Sir?* The Executioner pointing to the Front of the Scaffold, the Duke

reply'd, *What, my Head this Way?* Then the Under-Sheriff's Son ſaid, *My Lord, the Order is, that you ſhould lay your Head towards the High Court of Juſtice.*

The Duke, after a little Diſcourſe in private with ſome of his Servants, kneeled down on the Side of the Scaffold, and prayed awhile to himſelf. Then, with a chearful and ſmiling Countenance, the Duke embracing the Doctor in his Arms, ſaid, Truly, Sir, I do take you in my Arms; and truly I bleſs God for it, I do not fear: I have an Aſſurance that is grounded here *(laying his Hand upon his Heart)* now that gives me more true Joy than ever I had; I paſs out of a miſerable World, to go into an eternal and glorious Kingdom; and, Sir, though I have been a moſt ſinful Creature, yet God's Mercy, I know, is infinite, and I bleſs my God for it, I go with ſo clear a Conſcience, that I know not the Man that I have perſonally injur'd.

Dr. *Sibbald.* My Lord, it is a marvellous great Satisfaction that at this Hour you can ſay ſo; I beſeech the Lord for his eternal Mercy, ſtrengthen your Faith, that in the very Moment of your Diſſolution, you may ſee the Arms of the Lord Jeſus ſtretched out ready to receive your Soul.

Then the Duke embracing thoſe his Servants that were there preſent, ſaid to each of them, *You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord bleſs you.* Then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, *I ſhall ſay a very ſhort Prayer to my God, while I lie down there; and when I ſtretch out my Hand (my Right-hand) then, Sir, do your Duty; and I freely forgive you, and ſo I do all the World. —— Muſt I lie ſo?*

Execut. Yes, an't pleaſe your Lordſhip.

Duke. When I ſtretch out my Hands——but I will fit my Head firſt, tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Execut.

Execut. Your Shirt muſt be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your Shoulders *(which was done accordingly.)* Then the Duke having laid his Head over the Block, ſaid, *Is this right?*

Execut. Lie a little lower, Sir.

Duke. Well, ſtay then till I give you the Sign. And ſo having lain a ſhort Space devoutly praying to himſelf, he ſtretched out his Right-hand, whereupon the Executioner, at one Blow, ſevered his Head from his Body; which was received by two of his Servants, then kneeling by him, into a crimſon Taffety Scarf, and with the Body immediately put into a Coffin, brought upon the Scaffold for that Purpoſe, and from thence convey'd to the Houſe that was Sir *John Hamilton*'s, at the *Meuſe*.

This Execution being done, the Sheriff's Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the Mid-way, between the Scaffold and *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Under-Sheriff's Son having received him into his Charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking Mr. *Bolton* all the Way in his Hand, they paſſed all along to the Scaffold diſcourſing together; upon which being come, obſerving his Voice would not reach to the People, in regard the Guard compaſſed the Scaffold; he ſaid,

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Henry *Lord* Rich, *Earl of* Holland, *his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Death*, March 9, 1649.

IT is to no Purpoſe, I think, to ſpeak any thing here. Which Way muſt I ſpeak? *And then being directed to the Front of the Scaffold, he leaning over the Rails, ſaid,* I think it is fit to ſay ſomething, ſince God hath called me to this Place. The firſt Thing which I muſt profeſs, is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family,

that hath ever been faithful to the true Proteſtant Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and in the which, by God's Mercy, I ſhall die. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my Sins, ſince I conceive it is very much his Pleaſure to bring me to this Place, for the Sins I have committed. The Cauſe that hath brought me hither, I believe, by many hath been much miſtaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Deſigns to the State, and to the Kingdom: Truly, I look upon it as a Judgment, and a juſt Judgment of God: Not but I have offended ſo much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have no extreme Vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily. For thoſe Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been very faithful to the Publick, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever expreſs'd truly and clearly to them. The Diſpoſitions of Affairs now, have put Things in another Poſture than they were in when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from thoſe Principles that ever I have profeſſed; I have lived in them, and, by God's Grace, will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them farther than I thought reaſonable; and, truly, there I left them: But there hath been nothing that I have ſaid, or done, or profeſs'd, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very conſtant, and very clear, upon the Principles that I have ever gone upon; which was, to ſerve the King, the Parliament, Religion (I ſhould have ſaid in the firſt place) the Commonwealth, and to ſeek the Peace of the Kingdom: That made me think it no proper Time, being preſs'd out by Accidents and Circumſtances, to ſeek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, ſince there was ſomething then in Agitation,

but

but nothing agreed on for ſending Propoſitions to the King; that was the fartheſt Aim that I had; and, truly, beyond that, I had no Intention, none at all. And, God be praiſed, altho' my Blood comes to be ſhed here, there was ſcarce (I think) a Drop of Blood ſhed in that Action I was engaged in. For the preſent Affairs, as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them: And, truly, they are in ſuch a Condition, as I conceive no body can make a Judgment of them; and therefore I muſt make uſe of Prayers, rather than of my Opinion; which are, That God would bleſs this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; and that he would ſettle it in a Way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons; a Government that I conceive it hath flouriſhed much under; and I pray God, the Change of it may not bring rather a Prejudice, a Diſorder, and a Confuſion, than the contrary.

I have ſaid what Religion * I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practis'd; I began with it, and I muſt end with it.

I have endeavour'd to do thoſe Actions that became an honeſt Man, and a good *Engliſhman*, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in Trouble, thoſe that have been in Perſecution; and truly I find a great Reward of it; for I have found their Prayers, and their Kindneſs, now in this Diſtreſs, and in this Condition, and I think it a great Reward; I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great Sinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my Prayers, to give me Faith to truſt in him; that as he hath called me to Death at this Place, he will make it but a Paſſage to an eternal Life, through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I rely upon, and which I expect, by the Mercy of God. And ſo, I pray God bleſs

* Looking towards Mr. Bolton.

bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt Execution, and the laſt Blood, that is likely to be ſpilt among you.

And then, turning to the Side-rail, he prayed for a good Space of Time; after which, Mr. *Bolton* ſaid;

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have truſted. My Lord, I hope that here is your laſt Prayer; there will no more Prayers remain, but Praiſes; and I hope, that after this Day is over, there will a Day begin that will never have End; and I look upon this, my Lord, the Morning of it, the Morning of that Day. My Lord, you know where your Fulneſs lies, where your Riches lie, where is your only Rock to anchor on; you know there is a Fulneſs in Chriſt: And the Lord of Heaven be the Strength, Stay, and Support of your Soul, and the Lord furniſh you with all thoſe Graces which may carry you into the Boſom of the Lord Jeſus; that when you expire this Life, you may be able to expire it into him, in whom you may begin to live to all Eternity. And that is my humble Prayer.

Holland. Mr. *Bolton*, God hath given me long Time in this World; he hath carried me through many great Accidents of Fortune; he hath at laſt brought me down into a Condition, where I find myſelf brought to an End for a Diſaffection to this State, to this Parliament, that, as I did believe no body in the World more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that Cauſe, I look upon it as a great Judgment for my Sins. I might ſay ſomething of the Way of our Trial, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing, I think, hath ever been ſeen in this Kingdom; but becauſe that I would not ſeem as if I made ſome Complaint, I will not ſo much as mention it, becauſe no body ſhall believe I repine at their Actions, that I repine at my Fortune: It is the Will of God; it is the Hand of God, under whom I fall; I take it intirely from

from him, I ſubmit myſelf to him, I ſhall deſire to roll myſelf into the Arms of my bleſſed Saviour: And when I come to this * Place; when I bow down myſelf there, I hope God will raiſe me up; and when I bid Farewel, as I muſt now, to Hope, and to Faith, that Love will abide. I know nothing to accompany the Soul out of this World, but Love; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, thro' the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in whom I believe; O Lord, help my Unbelief.

Then the Earl looking over among the People, pointing to a Soldier, ſaid, *This honeſt Man took me a Priſoner; you little thought I ſhould have been brought to this, when I deliver'd myſelf to you upon Conditions.* And eſpying Captain *Watſon* on Horſeback, putting off his Hat, ſaid to him, *God be with you, Sir; God reward you, Sir.*

Bolton. My Lord, throw yourſelf into the Arms of Mercy, and ſay, There I will anchor, and there I will die; he is a Saviour for us in all Conditions; whither ſhould we go? He hath the Words of eternal Life; and upon him do you reſt, wait while you live, and even truſt in Death.

Holland. Here muſt now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me find my Anchor, and, but in Storms, no body truſts to his Anchor; and therefore I muſt truſt upon my Anchor (upon that God, ſaid Mr. *Bolton*, upon whom your Anchor truſts) yea, God, I hope, will anchor my Soul faſt upon Chriſt Jeſus; and if I die not with that Clearneſs, and that Heartineſs that you ſpeak of, truly I will truſt in God; though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton.

* Pointing to the Block.

Bolton. There is Mercy enough, my Lord, and to ſpare, you ſhall not need to doubt; they ſhall never go begging to another Door, my Lord, that come to him.

Then the Earl of *Holland*, ſpeaking to Mr. *Hodges*, ſaid, *I pray God reward you for all your Kindneſs, and pray, as you have done, inſtruct my Family, that they may ſerve God with Faithfulneſs and Holineſs, with more Diligence than truly I have been careful to preſs them unto: You have the Charge of the ſame Place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your Kindneſs, and the Goodneſs of your Conſcience.*

Dr. *Sibbald*, ſtanding upon the Scaffold, in his Paſſage to Colonel *Beecher*, expreſſed himſelf thus to his Lordſhip:

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Lord lift up the Light of his Countenance upon you, and you ſhall be ſafe.

Then the Earl of *Holland* embrac'd Lieutenant-Colonel *Beecher*, and took his Leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, returned him many Thanks for his great Pains and Affections to his Soul, deſiring God to reward him, and return his Love into his Boſom. Mr. *Bolton* ſaid to him, *The Lord God ſupport you, and be ſeen in this great Extremity; the Lord reveal and diſcover himſelf to you, and make your Death the Paſſage unto Eternal Life*———

Then the Earl of *Holland*, turning to the Executioner, ſaid, *Here, my Friend, let my Cloaths and my Body alone; there is Ten Pounds for thee, that is better than my Cloaths, I am ſure of it.*

Executioner. Will your Lordſhip pleaſe to give me a Sign when I ſhall ſtrike? And then his Lordſhip ſaid, You have Room enough here, have you not? And the Executioner ſaid, Yes.

Bolton.

Bolton. The Lord be your Strength, there is Riches in him; the Lord of Heaven impart himſelf to you, he is able to ſave to the uttermoſt: We cannot fall ſo low, as to fall below the everlaſting Arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a Support and Stay to you in your low Condition, that he will be pleaſed to make this an Advantage to that Life and Glory that will make Amends for all.

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, ſaid, *Friend, do you hear me? if you take up my Head, do not take off my Cap.* Then turning to his Servants, he ſaid to one, *Fare you well, thou art an honeſt Fellow*; and to another, *God be with thee, thou art an honeſt Man*; and then ſaid, *Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God Forgiveneſs*; and then prayed for a pretty Space with ſeeming Earneſtneſs.

Bolton. The Lord grant you may find Life in Death.

Holland. Which is the Way of Lying? *(which they ſhewed him)* and then, going to the Front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the People, God bleſs you all, and deliver you from any ſuch Accidents as may bring you to any ſuch Death as is violent, either by War, or by theſe Accidents; but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that theſe Accidents that have happened to us, may be the laſt that may happen in this Kingdom. And then turning to the Executioner, ſaid, *How muſt I lie? I know not.*

Execut. Lie down flat upon your Belly.

And then, having laid himſelf down, he ſaid, Muſt I lie cloſer?

Execut. Yes, and backwarder.

Holland. I will tell you when you ſhall ſtrike; and then, as he lay, ſeemed to pray with much Affection for a ſhort Space; and then, lifting up his Head, ſaid, *Where is the Man?* And ſeeing the Executioner by

him, he ſaid, *Stay while I give the Sign*; and preſently after ſtretching out his Hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he ſaid, *Now, now*; and juſt as the Words were coming out of his Mouth, the Executioner, at one Blow, ſevered his Head from his Body.

Arthur *Lord* Capel's *Behaviour and Laſt Dying Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death*, March 9, 1649.

THE Execution of the Earl of *Holland* being thus perform'd, the Lord *Capel* was brought to the Scaffold as the former; and in the Way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the People on both Sides, looking very auſterely about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieutenant-Colonel *Beecher* ſaid to him, Is your Chaplain here?

Capel. No, I have taken my Leave of him. And perceiving ſome of his Servants to weep, he ſaid, Gentlemen, refrain yourſelves, refrain yourſelves. And turning to Col. *Beecher*, he ſaid, What! did the Lords ſpeak with their Hats off, or no?

Beecher. With their Hats off. And then coming to the Front of the Scaffold, he ſaid, I ſhall hardly be underſtood here, I think; and then began his Speech as followeth.

THE Concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the Cauſe of this violent Death of mine, ſhall be the Beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an Addreſs to them (which was the laſt) I told them, with much Sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all Mercies, that they might be Partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs Mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly I ſtill pray that Prayer; and I beſeech the God of Heaven forgive any Injury

Injury they have done to me, from my Soul I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you, as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian: But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant; and truly I am a Proteſtant, and very much in Love with the Profeſſion of it, after the manner as it was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the Thirty-nine Articles; a bleſſed Way of Profeſſion, and ſuch an one as truly I never knew any ſo good. I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body has very unworthily charged me withal, that truly I profeſs to you, that though I love good Works, and commend good Works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the Matter of Salvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelf for me:* This is that that I reſt upon.

And truly ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole World, and in that Conſideration I am here condemn'd to die, contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that is, the Law of the Sword; I had the Protection of that for my Life, and the Honour of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another Place I have ſpoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other Means what Arguments I uſed in that Caſe: But truly that which is ſtranger, you that are *Engliſhmen*, behold here an *Engliſhman* before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*; and, ſhall I tell you more? (which is ſtrangeſt of all) contrary to all the Laws of *England* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the Matter of the civil Part of my Death, and the Cauſe that I have maintain'd, I die (I take it) for maintaining the Fifth Commandment, enjoined by God himſelf, which enjoins Reverence and Obedience to Parents. All Divines, on all Hands, though they contradict one another in many ſeveral Opinions, yet all Divines, on all Hands, do acknowledge, that here is

intended Magiſtracy and Order; and certainly I have obey'd that Magiſtracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey; and truly, I can ſay it very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that Fifth Commandment given by God himſelf, and written with his own Finger. And now, Gentlemen, I take this Opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater Ingenuity than his, that ſaid of himſelf, *For ſuffering an unjuſt Judgment upon another, himſelf was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt Judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all Men that are concern'd in it may take the Occaſion of it, of humble Repentance to God Almighty for it; I do here profeſs to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath waſhed that away with a more precious Blood, the Blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and I hope he will waſh it away from all thoſe that are guilty of it: Truly, this I may ſay, I had not the leaſt Part nor Degree of Malice in doing of it; but I muſt confeſs again to God's Glory, and the Accuſation of mine own Frailty, and the Frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardice, not to reſiſt ſo great a Torrent as carried that Buſineſs at that Time. And this I think I am moſt guilty of, of not Courage enough in it, but Malice I had none; but whatſoever it was, God, I am ſure, hath pardon'd it, hath given me the Aſſurance of it, that Chriſt Jeſus his Blood hath waſhed it away; and truly, I do from my Soul wiſh, that all Men that have any Stain by it, may ſeriouſly repent, and receive a Remiſſion and Pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have an Occaſion from this Intimation to remember his Majeſty, our King that laſt was; and I cannot ſpeak of him, nor think of it, but truly I muſt needs ſay, that in my Opinion, who have had Time to conſider all the

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Images of the greateſt and virtuouſeſt Princes in the World; and truly, in my Opinion, there was not a more virtuous and more ſufficient Prince known in the World, than our gracious King *Charles* that died laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now is, his Son; God ſend him more Fortune, and longer Days; God Almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the Virtues and Sufficiencies of his Father: For certainly, I, that have been a Counſellor to him, and have lived long with him, and in a Time when Diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen Years of Age) thoſe Years I was with him; truly, I never ſaw greater Hopes of Virtue in any young Perſon than in him; great Judgment, great Underſtanding, great Apprehenſion, much Honour in his Nature, and truly a very perfect *Engliſhman* in his Inclination; and I pray God reſtore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one to another, and ſend a great Happineſs both to you and to him, that he may long live and reign among you, and that That Family may reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all Temporal Power is conſummated: I beſeech God of his Mercy give much Happineſs to this your King, to you that ſhall be his faithful Subjects, by the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

Truly I like my Beginning ſo well, that I will make my Concluſion with it; that is, that God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and ineſtimable Grace and Mercy, to thoſe that are the Cauſe of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much Mercy as their Hearts can wiſh; and truly, for my Part, I will not accuſe any one of them of Malice, truly I will not, nay, I will not think there was any Malice in them: What other End there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one. And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſs you all, God Almighty be infinite in Goodneſs

neſs and Mercy to you, and direct you in thoſe Ways of Obedience to his Commands, to his Majeſty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in ſo good and ſo obedient People; God Almighty keep you all; God Almighty preſerve this Kingdom; God Almighty preſerve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) he ſaid, Which is the Gentleman? Which is the Man?

Anſwer was made, He is coming: He then ſaid, Stay, I muſt pull off my Doublet firſt, and my Waiſtcoat: And then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, O Friend, prithee come hither. Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* ſaid, I forgive thee from my Soul, and not only forgive thee, but I ſhall pray to God to give thee all Grace for a better Life: There is five Pounds for thee; and truly, for my Cloaths, and thoſe Things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you ſhall be fully recompenſed; but I deſire my Body may not be ſtripped here, and no body to take Notice of my Body but my own Servants. Look you, Friend, this I ſhall deſire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me Time for a particular ſhort Prayer.

Beecher. Make your own Sign, my Lord.

Capel. Stay a little: Which Side do you ſtand upon? (ſpeaking to the Executioner) Stay, I think I ſhould lay my Hands forward that Way (*pointing foreright*) and Anſwer being made, Yes; he ſtood ſtill a little while, and then ſaid, God bleſs all this People; God Almighty ſtanch this Blood; God Almighty ſtanch, ſtanch, ſtanch this Iſſue of Blood: This will not do the Buſineſs; God Almighty find out another Way to do it. And then turning to one of his Servants, he ſaid, *Baldwin*, I cannot ſee any Thing that belongs to my Wife; but I muſt deſire thee and beſeech her,

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to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt, to be contented, and fully ſatified. And then ſpeaking to his Servants, he ſaid, God keep you; and, Gentlemen, let me now do a Buſineſs quickly, privately; and pray let me have your Prayers at the Moment of Death, that God would receive my Soul.

Beecher. I wiſh it.

Capel. Pray, at the Moment of Striking, join your Prayers, but make no Noiſe *(turning to his Servants)* it is inconvenient at this Time.

Servant. My Lord, put on your Cap.

Capel. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *(As he was putting up his Hair.)* And then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Honeſt Man, I have forgiven thee, therefore ſtrike boldly, from my Soul I do it. Then a Gentleman ſpeaking to him, he ſaid, Nay prithee be contented, be quiet, good Mr.———be quiet. Then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not? And ſtretching out his Hands, he ſaid, Then pray ſtand off, Gentlemen. Then going to the Front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the People, Gentlemen, tho' I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to aſk it of you, That you would all join in Prayers with me, that God would mercifully receive my Soul, and that for his alone Mercies in Chriſt Jeſus. God Almighty keep you all.

Execut. My Lord, ſhall I put up your Hair?

Capel. Ay, ay, prithee do; and then as he ſtood lifting up his Hands and Eyes, he ſaid, O God, I do with a perfect and a willing Heart ſubmit to thy Will: O God, I do moſt willingly humble myſelf. And then kneeling down, ſaid, I will try how I can lie; and laying his Head over the Block, ſaid, Am I well now?

Execut. Yes.

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And then, as he lay with both his Hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the Executioner, Here lie both my Hands out; when I lift up my Hands thus, (*lifting up his Right Hand*) then you may ſtrike.

And then, after he had ſaid a ſhort Prayer, he lifted up his Right-hand, and the Executioner, at one Blow, ſevered his Head from his Body, which was taken up by his Servants, and put, with his Body, into a Coffin, as the former.

The Behaviour and laſt dying Speech of Colonel John Morrice, *Governor of* Pontefract *Caſtle, at the Place of Execution at* York, Auguſt 23, 1649.

THIS Gentleman, in his younger Years, had, in the Beginning of the War, been an Officer in ſome Regiments of the King's; but out of the Folly and Impatience of Youth, had quitted that, and engag'd in the Parliament Service. He was a Gentleman of a very competent Eſtate in *Yorkſhire*, and as he advanced in Years, heartily deteſted himſelf for abandoning the King's Intereſt, and put on a Reſolution for the future, to take ſome ſeaſonable Opportunity to wipe off that Blemiſh, by a Service that would redeem him: He now liv'd retir'd as a Country Gentleman, and convers'd with equal Freedom with all his Neighbours, and renew'd Acquaintance with ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who had ſerv'd the King: But no Friendſhip was ſo dear to him as that of the Governor of *Pontefract* Caſtle, who mightily delighted in his Company; which gave *Morrice* an Opportunity of putting his Deſigns in Execution, ſome of which fail'd; till he and ſome others ſurpriz'd the Caſtle, under the Diſguiſe of Countrymen coming in with Carts of Proviſion, and preſently ſeiz'd on and maſter'd the Main Guard, and made Way for their Friends, Horſe and Foot, to enter.

enter. They continued Maſters of it till near the End of the Year 1648, when *Lambert* came, and in a ſhort Time reduced them within their own Circuit, that they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender; which, however they would not do without honourable Terms. Before they delivered themſelves into the Hands of the Enemy, Col. *Morrice*, and three others, out of ſix whom they had reſolved to ſacrifice, had made their Eſcape; but not long after, the Colonel was taken in *Lancaſhire*, and, after two and twenty Weeks Impriſonment, ſentenc'd at *York*, where he convinc'd them, that it was againſt the Law of Arms, that a Soldier ſhould be tried by a Jury, and againſt all the Laws of the Land, that a Subject ſhould die for acting according to an acknowledged Sovereign's Commiſſion; but however, as they had reſolved to take away his Life, he ſpent the Remainder of his Time in Preparation for it.

When he was brought out of Priſon, looking upon the Sledge that was ſet for him, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and knocking upon his Breaſt, he ſaid, *I am as willing to go to my Death, as to put off my Doublet to go to Bed; I deſpiſe the Shame, as well as the Croſs; I know I am going to a joyful Place*; with many the like Expreſſions.

When the Poſt met him about St. *James*'s Church, that was ſent to the Parliament to mediate for a Reprieve, and told him, he could not prevail in it; he ſaid, *Sir, I pray God reward you for your Pains; I hope, and am well aſſured, to find a better Pardon than any they can give; my Hope is not in Man, but in the living God.* And when he arriv'd at the Place of Execution, he made the following Profeſſion of himſelf:

Gentlemen,

FIRST, I was bred in the true Proteſtant Religion, having my Education and Breeding from that honoured Houſe of my dear Lord and Maſter, the Earl of *Strafford*; which Place, I dare boldly ſay, was as well governed and ruled, as ever any yet was before it; I much doubt, better than any will be after it, unleſs it pleaſe God to put a Period to theſe diſtracted Times. This Faith and Religion, I ſay, I have been bred in, and, I thank God, I have hitherto lived in, without the leaſt wavering, and now I am reſolved, by God's Aſſiſtance, to die in.

I bleſs God, I am thought worthy to ſuffer for his Name, and for ſo good a Cauſe; and if I had a thouſand Lives, I would willingly lay them down for the Cauſe of my King, the Lord's Anointed: The Scripture commands us to *fear God, and honour the King*; to be *ſubject to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake, whether to the King as Supreme, or to thoſe that are in Authority under him.* I have been always faithful to my Truſt; and though I have been moſt baſely accuſed for betraying *Liverpool*, yet I take God to witneſs, it is a moſt falſe Aſperſion, for I was then ſick in my Bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Soldiers had done it without my Conſent, and then I was carry'd Priſoner to Sir *John Meldrum:* Afterwards I came down into the Country; and ſeeing I could not live quietly at Home, I was perſuaded by Col. *Forbes*, Col. *Overton*, Lieut. Col. *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good Friends, to march in their Troops; which I did, but with Intention ſtill to do my King the beſt Service, when Occaſion was, and ſo I did; and I pray God to turn the Hearts of all the Soldiers to their lawful Sovereign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do; and though thou kill me, yet will I put my Truſt in thee;

thee; wherefore I truſt in God he will not fail me, nor forſake me.

Then he took his Bible, and read divers Pſalms, fit for his own Occaſion and Conſolation, and then put up divers Prayers, ſome publickly, and ſome privately.

After which, he put up divers ſhort Ejaculations; as, *I know my Redeemer liveth. Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; for thou haſt redeemed it, O God, thou God of Truth. Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit*; and many the like; and ſo he yielded to Death.

The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburne, *immediately before his Death*, Aug. 23, 1649, *who was executed the ſame Day at* York.

THIS loyal Sufferer, who was eminently famous for his honeſt Endeavours for the Service of his Sovereign, and one of thoſe brave Perſons who ſo gallantly defended the Caſtle of *Pontefract* againſt the Rebels, was by them likewiſe made a Priſoner, and underwent the ſame Fate with the former, on the ſame Day, and at the ſame Place, where he gave this ſhort Account of himſelf to the People, as follows:

AS it is generally expected from Perſons in my Circumſtances to ſay ſomething; ſo I ſhall ſo far comply with that Cuſtom, as not to detain you long, nor give myſelf ſuch Trouble in it. I am not a Gentleman by Birth, but my Parents are of an honeſt Quality and Condition. I was brought up in the Proteſtant Religion, and in that Religion I have lived, and in that I now die. I have ſome five or ſix Years ſince engaged in this War, wherein I had no other End or Intention but to do my King true and faithful Service, according to my Duty, and the Dictate of my Conſcience. I have not done ſo much Service as I deſired,

but I have been always faithful to him, and wiſh I could have done him more: And for his Son, the King that now is, I wonder any Man of this Kingdom ſhould have the Boldneſs or Impudence to lift up his Hand againſt him, to keep him from his Crown, whereof he is Heir Apparent, and hath as good Right and Title to it by his Birth-right, as any Man living hath of his Inheritance or Poſſeſſion: I pray God bleſs him, forgive all my Enemies, and Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.

A perfect Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the moſt loyal and valiant Marquis of Montroſs, *General of his Majeſty's Forces in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *who was inhumanly executed at* Edinburgh *the 21ſt of* May, 1650; *with the true Copy of his Speech immediately before his Execution.*

THE Parliament of *Scotland* being informed that the Marquis of *Montroſs* was taken, and foreſeeing that his Countenance and Carriage might gain him ſome Favour amongſt the People, thought fit to give out their Sentence againſt him before he ſhould come to *Edinburgh*; and therefore, upon the 17th of *May*, 1650, in the Morning, they appointed a Committee to prepare and give in their Opinions what was the fitteſt to be done with him; where, the ſame Forenoon, they gave in their Report in Writing, to this Effect; *That as ſoon as he ſhould come to the Town, he ſhould be met at the Gate by the Magiſtrates and Hangman*; that he ſhould be tied with Cords upon a Cart, bare-headed, and the Hangman to ride upon the Horſe that drew the Cart, covered, before him, and ſo be brought through the Town: That he ſhould be hanged on a Gibbet thirty Foot high at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*, until he died, his Hiſtory and Declaration hanging

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ing about his Neck; and ſo hang three Hours in publick View of all the People; after which, he ſhould be beheaded and quartered, his Head to be fixed upon the Priſon-houſe of *Edinburgh*, and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of the Cities of *Sterling*, *Glaſcow*, *Perth*, alias *St. John's Town*, and *Aberdeen*: And, in caſe he repented (whereby the Sentence of Excommunication might be taken off by the Church) the Bulk of his Body ſhould be bury'd in the *Grey-Friars*; if not, to be bury'd in the *Borrow-Moor*.

Upon the 18th Day, about four o'Clock in the Afternoon, he was brought in at the *Water-gate*, and, according to the Sentence, was met by the Magiſtrates, the Guards, and the Hangman of the City; the reſt of the Priſoners being ty'd two and two together, going bare-headed before him. So ſoon as he came within the Gate, the Magiſtrates ſhewed him the Sentence; which, when he had read, and perceived the Cart and the Hangman there ready, he ſaid, *He would willingly obey; he was only ſorry that, through him, his Majeſty, whoſe Perſon he repreſented, ſhould be ſo diſhonoured.* Then going chearfully into the Cart, he being uncovered, was by the Hangman ty'd thereunto with Ropes, and the Hangman on the Horſe rid covered: Thus was he carry'd to the Priſon, and in all the Way there appeared in him ſuch a Majeſty, Courage, and Modeſty, no way daunted, that his very Enemies, nay, common Women, who, as it was believed by divers, would have ſtoned him in the Cart as he paſſed, were, upon the Sight of him, ſo aſtoniſhed and moved, that their intended Curſes were turned into Tears and Prayers for him; inſomuch as the next Day (being *Sunday*) the Miniſters preached againſt them for not reviling and ſtoning him as he paſſed along.

When he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman Gold, telling him, that was a Reward for driving

driving the Cart. It was ſeven o'Clock at Night before he was enter'd into the Priſon, and immediately the Parliament met, and ſent ſome of their Members, and ſome Miniſters, to examine him; but he refuſed to anſwer any thing unto them, until he was ſatisfied upon what Terms they ſtood with the King his Royal Maſter; which being reported unto the Parliament, they ceaſed proceeding againſt him till *Monday*, and allowed their Commiſſioners to tell him, that the King and they were agreed: He deſired to be at Reſt, for he was weary with a long Journey; and ſaid, the Compliment they had put upon him that Day was ſomewhat tedious.

The next Day (being *Sunday*) he was conſtantly attended by Miniſters and Parliament-men, who ſtill purſued him with Threatnings; but they got no Advantage of him: He told them, They thought they had affronted him the Day before, by carrying him in a Cart, but they were much miſtaken; for he thought it the moſt honourable and joyfulleſt Journey that ever he made, God having all the while moſt comfortably manifeſted his Preſence to him, and furniſhed him with Reſolution to over-look the Reproaches of Men, and to behold him for whoſe Cauſe he ſuffered.

Upon *Monday* in the Forenoon, he was brought before the Parliament; and after the Delivery of a long Diſcourſe by the Chancellor, wherein he was pleaſed to take notice of his Miſcarriages againſt the firſt Covenant, the League and Covenant, his Invaſion, and joining with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and Blood-guiltineſs; and that now, how God had brought him to juſt Puniſhment; he deſired to know, if he might be allowed to ſpeak for himſelf; which being granted, he ſaid, Since you have declared unto me, that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you, as if his Majeſty were ſitting amongſt you; and in that Relation I appear with this Reverence bare-headed: My Care hath been

been always to walk as became a good Chriſtian, and a loyal Subject; I engaged in the firſt Covenant, and was faithful to it, until I perceived ſome private Perſons, under Colour of Religion, intended to wring the Authority from the King, and to ſeize on it for themſelves; and when it was thought fit, for the clearing of honeſt Men, that a Bond ſhould be ſubſcrib'd, wherein the Security of Religion was ſufficiently provided for, I ſubſcrib'd. For the League and Covenant, I thank God, I was never in it, and ſo could not break it; but how far Religion hath been advanced by it, and the ſad Conſequences that have followed on it, theſe poor diſtreſſed Kingdoms can witneſs: For when his late Majeſty had by the Bleſſing of God almoſt ſubdued thoſe Enemies that roſe againſt him in *England*, and that a Faction of this Kingdom went in to the Aſſiſtance of them, his Majeſty gave Commiſſion to me to come into this Kingdom, and to make a Diverſion of thoſe Forces that were going from hence againſt him. I acknowledged the Command moſt juſt, and I conceived myſelf bound in Conſcience and Duty to obey it. What my Carriage was in this Country, many of you may bear Witneſs; Diſorders in any Army cannot be prevented, but they were no ſooner known, than puniſhed; never was any Blood ſpilt but in Battle, and even then many thouſand Lives have I preſerv'd; and as I came in upon his Majeſty's Warrant, ſo upon his Letters did I lay aſide all Intereſt, and retreated.

And for my coming in at this Time, it was by his Majeſty's Command, in order to the accelerating of the Treaty betwixt him and you; his Majeſty knowing, that whenever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his Call. I may juſtly ſay, that never Subject acted upon more honourable Grounds, nor by a more lawful Power, than I did in this Service; and therefore I deſire you to lay aſide all Prejudice, and conſider

ſider me as a Chriſtian in relation to the the Juſtice of the Quarrel; as a Subject in relation to my Royal Maſter's Commands; and as your Neighbour in relation to the many of your Lives I have preſerv'd in Battle; and be not too raſh, but let me be judged by the Laws of God, the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Laws of this Land; if you do otherwiſe, I do here appeal from you, to the righteous Judge of the World, who one Day muſt be both your Judge and mine, and who always gives righteous Judgment.

This he deliver'd with ſuch Gravity, and without Paſſion, as was much admired even of his Enemies. After which the Chancellor commanded the Sentence to be read, which he heard with a ſettled and unmov'd Countenance; and deſiring to be further heard, was preſently ſtopt by the Chancellor, who commanded he ſhould be preſently remov'd back again to Priſon; whither he was no ſooner come, but, that he might not enjoy any Eaſe or Quiet, during the ſhort Remainder of his Life, their Miniſters came preſently to inſult over him with all the Reproaches imaginable; pronounced his Damnation; and aſſured him, That the Judgment he was the next Day to ſuffer, was but an eaſy Prologue to that which he was to undergo afterwards. After many ſuch Barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his Repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well underſtood the Form of their Common-Prayer, in thoſe Caſes, to be only the moſt virulent and inſolent Imprecations upon the Perſons of thoſe they prayed againſt; (*Lord, vouchſafe yet to touch the obdurate Heart of this proud, incorrigible Sinner, this wicked, perjured, and prophane Perſon, who refuſes to hearken to the Voice of thy Kirk*, and the like charitable Expreſſions) and therefore he deſir'd them to ſpare their Pains, and to leave him to his own Devotions. He told them, *That they were a miſerable, deluded, and deluding People; and would*

would ſhortly bring that poor Nation under the moſt inſupportable Servitude ever People ſubmitted to. He told them, *He was prouder to have his Head ſet upon the Place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have it ſaid that he had his Picture hang in the King's Bed-Chamber; that he was ſo far from being troubled, that his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily wiſh'd, that he had Fleſh enough to be ſent to every City in Chriſtendom, as a Teſtimony of the Cauſe for which he ſuffer'd.* His Friends were not ſuffer'd to come near him, but a Guard was always in the Chamber with him, inſomuch as he had neither Time or Place for his private Devotions, but in their Hearing.

The next Day, being the 21ſt, cloathed in a Scarlet Cloak, richly laced with Gold Lace, he was brought to the Scaffold. He came along the Streets with ſo great State, and there appeared in his Countenance ſo much Beauty, Majeſty and Gravity, as amaz'd the Beholders; and many even of his Enemies did acknowledge him to be the gallanteſt Subject in the World: But becauſe all his Friends and Well-wiſhers were debarr'd from coming near him, there was a Boy deſign'd for that Purpoſe on the Scaffold, who took his laſt Speech; which was to this Effect:

I Am ſorry if this Manner of my End be ſcandalous to any good Chriſtian. Doth it not often happen to the Righteous according to the Ways of the Wicked, and to the Wicked according to the Ways of the Righteous? Doth not ſometimes a juſt Man periſh in his Righteouſneſs, and a wicked Man proſper in his Malice? They who know me, ſhould not diſeſteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this Kind; yet I muſt not ſay, but that all God's Judgments are juſt; for my private Sins, I acknowledge this to be juſt with God, I ſubmit myſelf to

him: But in regard of Man, I may ſay they are but Inſtruments, God forgive them, I forgive them; they have oppreſſed the Poor, and violently perverted Judgment and Juſtice; but He that is higher than they, will reward them.

What I did in this Kingdom, was in Obedience to the moſt juſt Command of my Sovereign, for his Defence in the Day of his Diſtreſs, againſt thoſe that roſe up againſt him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and honour the King, according to the Commandments of God, and the Law of Nature and Nations; and I have not ſinned againſt Man, but againſt God, and with him there is Mercy, which is the Ground of my drawing near unto him.

It is objected againſt me by many (even good People) That I am under the *Cenſure* of the *Church*: This is not my Fault, ſince it is only for doing my Duty, by obeying my Prince's moſt juſt Commands, for Religion, his ſacred Perſon and Authority. Yet I am ſorry they did excommunicate me, and in that which is according to God's Laws, without wronging my Conſcience or Allegiance, I deſire to be relaxed; if they will not do it, I appeal to God, who is the righteous Judge of the World, and who muſt, and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour.

It is ſpoken of me, that I ſhould blame the King, (God forbid) for the late King, he liv'd a Saint, and dy'd a Martyr; I pray God, I may ſo end as he did; if ever I ſhould wiſh my Soul in another Man's ſtead, it ſhould be in his. For his Majeſty now living, never People I believe might be more happy in a King: His Commands to me were moſt juſt; in nothing that he promiſeth will he fail. He deals juſtly with all Men; I pray he be ſo dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under Truſt, as his Father was.

I deſire not to be miſtaken, as if my Carriage at this Time in relation to your Ways were ſtubborn; I do

do but follow the Light of my own Conſcience, which is ſeconded by the working of the good Spirit of God that is within me: I thank him, I go to Heaven's Throne with Joy. If he enable me againſt the Fear of Death, and furniſh me with Courage and Confidence to embrace it, even in its moſt ugly Shape; let God be glorified in my End, though it were in my Damnation. Yet I ſay not this out of any Fear or Diſtruſt, but out of my Duty to God, and Love to his People.

I have no more to ſay, but that I deſire your Charity and Prayers. I ſhall pray for you all. I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my Good-will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conſcience.

Being deſired to pray apart, he ſaid, I have already poured out my Soul before the Lord, who knows my Heart, and into whoſe Hands I have commended my Spirit, and he hath been graciouſly pleaſed to return to me a full Aſſurance of Peace in Jeſus Chriſt my Redeemer; and therefore, if you will not join with me in Prayer, my reiterating again will be both ſcandalous to you and me. So cloſing his Eyes, and holding up his Hands, he ſtood a good Space at his inward Devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the while: When he had done, he called for the Executioner, and gave him Money. Then having brought unto him (hanging in a Cord) his Declaration and Hiſtory, he hanged them about his Neck, ſaying, Though it hath pleaſed his ſacred Majeſty that now is, to make him one of the Knights of the moſt Honourable Order of the Garter, yet he did not think himſelf more honoured by the Garter, than by that Cord with the Books, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and Content, as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold; and therefore deſired them to be tied to him as they pleaſed.

When this was done, and his Arms tied, he asked the Officers, If they had any more Diſhonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it. And ſo with an undaunted Courage and Gravity ſuffered, according to the Sentence paſt upon him.

'Thus (ſays a noble Author) died the gallant Marquis of *Montroſs*, after he had given as great a Teſtimony of Loyalty and Courage, as a Subject can do, and perform'd as wonderful Actions in ſeveral Battles, upon as great Inequality of Numbers, and as great Diſadvantages in reſpect of Arms, as have been perform'd in this Age.

Soon after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sir *William Urry*, Sir *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the Number of thirty or forty, in ſeveral Quarters of the Kingdom, many of them being ſuffer'd to be beheaded. All which Inhumanities, committed in that Nation towards their own Countrymen, do ſufficiently demonſtrate their Mercies were equally as cruel as thoſe of the prevailing Faction in *England*.

The Execution of Dr. Levens, *who was hang'd over-againſt the* Royal-Exchange, July 18, 1650.

THIS Gentleman was deſcended of an ancient Family in *Oxfordſhire*, within a Mile of the Univerſity. His Education was truly generous, his Profeſſion the Civil Law; wherein he was graduated a Doctor, and in which he was known to be excellent before the Wars.

He continued moſt Part of the War at *Oxford*, and his own adjacent Dwelling, till ſuch Time as the Surrender of the ſaid City into the Hands of the Parliament, where he had the ſame Terms, and was concluded

cluded in the Articles of that Capitulation; which being forc'd to accept, and lay down his Arms, he again re-aſſum'd his wonted Studies: But after the Murder of the King, conſidering the Confuſion and impendent Ruin of Church and State, became engag'd for the Service of his baniſh'd Sovereign; ſeveral Conſultations and private Meetings were held by him and others, in order to it; to which purpoſe he alſo receiv'd Commiſſions from the King, then in *France*, for ſeveral Officers of thoſe Forces deſign'd to be rais'd; and other Inſtructions, as Affairs proceeded. But the ſagacious Induſtry of the Parliament Spies lighting upon ſome Glimpſes of this Buſineſs, they follow'd it ſo cloſe, that they diſcover'd Dr. *Levens* to be the chief Agitator and Manager of the Plot, and in whoſe Breaſt the Cabal was principally lodg'd.

An Order thereupon was made by the Council of State, and a Warrant ſign'd by *Bradſhaw*, the Preſident, to ſeize and bring him before them; who order'd him to be try'd by a Court Martial, where he did not endeavour to excuſe himſelf, but acknowledg'd their Allegations, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, of which he told them he was no way aſhamed; but, if it muſt be ſo, he would willingly lay down his Life in owning it. So the Court proceeded to Sentence, which was, That he ſhould be hang'd over-againſt the *Royal-Exchange*, in Exchange Time; which, after ſome little Preparation, was executed, he being brought in a Coach from the *Mews*, with the Executioner vizarded with him, and a Troop of Horſe to guard him to the Place, where the Sheriffs receiv'd him into their Charge. After he alighted, and ſome Words paſs'd between them concerning the ſaid Diſcovery, he told them, they ſhould not expect it, and deſir'd them to forbear any further Trouble to that Purpoſe; and ſo aſcending the Ladder, he prayed very fervently for the King

King and Church; and commending his Soul into the Hands of his Redeemer, he concluded his laſt Breath on the 18th of *July*, 1650.

The Behaviour and Laſt Dying Speech of Colonel Euſebius Andrews, *immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on* Tower-Hill, Aug. 22, 1650.

THIS Gentleman had the Character of an honeſt and religious Man, bred in my Lord *Capel*'s Family, whoſe Secretary he was, and a Counſellor of *Gray's-Inn*; having been unhappily drawn into ſome Projects of an Inſurrection in Behalf of the King, he was betray'd by ſome of his Confederates, taken up, and, after ſeveral Examinations, brought to his Trial before the High Court of Juſtice: Here he admirably pleaded his Cauſe; but the Attorney-General *Prideaux* over-rul'd all, and told him, 'The Court was not to 'take notice of his Law-Caſes, but of his Confeſſi-'on; and though he had acted no Treaſon, yet he had 'an Affection for Treaſon, and therefore deſerved 'Death.' Upon this learned Diſtinction, the Court proceeded to Sentence againſt him, That he ſhould be beheaded: And accordingly he ſpent the ſhort Remainder of his Time in Exerciſes of Preparation for the fatal Day, *Aug.* 22, 1650.

As ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the Block, he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven. And to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, he ſaid, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my Way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the Rail, he thus expreſſed himſelf:

Chriſtian

Chriſtian Gentlemen and People,

YOUR Buſineſs here To-day, is to ſee a ſad Spectacle, a Man to be in a Moment unmann'd, and cut off in the Prime of his Years, taken from further Opportunity of doing Good either to himſelf, his Friends, the Common-wealth, or eſpecially to God; it ſeldom happens but upon very good Cauſe. And though truly, if my general known Courſe of Life were but inquir'd into, I may modeſtly ſay, there is ſuch a moral Honeſty upon it, as ſome may be ſo ſawcy as to expoſtulate why this great Judgment is fallen upon me; yet know, I am able to give them and myſelf an Anſwer, and out of this Breaſt am able to give a better Account of my Judgment and Execution than my Judges themſelves, or you are able to give: It is God's Wrath upon me, for Sins long unrepented of, many Judgments withſtood, and Mercies ſlighted; therefore God hath whipped me by his ſevere Rod of Correction, that he might not loſe me: I pray join with me in Prayer, that it may not be a fruitleſs Rod; that when by this Rod I have laid down my Life, by this Staff I may be comforted, and received into Glory.

I deſire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the Moment of Death; that, as I have a great Load of Sins, ſo I may have the Wings of your Prayers, to help thoſe Angels who are to convey my Soul into Heaven; and I doubt not but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another Maſter whom I much honoured, my Lord *Capel*; hoping this Day to ſee my Chriſt in the Preſence of the Father, the King in the Preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the Preſence of them all; and myſelf there, to rejoice with all other Saints and Angels for evermore.

Dr.

Dr. *Swadling* (he being upon the Scaffold) ſpake as followeth unto the Colonel:

You have this Morning, in the Preſence of a few, given ſome Account of your Religion; and, under general Notions, or Words, have given an Account of your Faith, Charity, and Repentance.

To thoſe on the Scaffold: If you pleaſe to hear the ſame Queſtions asked here, you ſhall, that it may be a general Teſtimony to you all, that he died in the Favour of God.

To the Colonel: Now, Sir, I being to deal with you; Do you acknowledge, that this Stroke that you are to ſuffer, is a juſt Puniſhment laid upon you by God for your former Sins?

Col. *Andrews.* I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confeſs it; I have no Opportunity of glorifying God more, than by taking Shame to myſelf; and I have a Reaſon of the Juſtice of God in my Boſom, which I have put to your Boſom.

Doctor. You acknowledge that you deſerve more than this Stroke of the Axe; and that a far greater Miſery is due to you, even the Pains and Torments of Hell, that the Damned there endure.

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgment; but I know again, I have Satisfaction made by my Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, and then I ſay it is not due; 'tis due from me, but quitted by his Righteouſneſs.

Doct. Do you believe to be ſaved by that Mediator, and none other?

Col. By that, and that only; renouncing all ſecondary Cauſes whatſoever.

Doct. Do you wiſh Health and Happineſs upon all lawful Authorities and Government?

Col. I do prize all Obedience to lawful Government, and the adventuring againſt them is ſinful; and I do not juſtify myſelf, whatever my Judgment be, for my

my thus venturing againſt the preſent Government; I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous; if it be, it muſt ſtand.

Doct. Are you now in Love and Charity with all Men? Do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the World, freely; and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almoſt a Quarter of an Hour; after which the Colonel, turning himſelf again to the People, ſpake as followeth:

One thing more I deſire to be clear in: There lieth a common Imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papiſts, and under that Name are made odious to thoſe of the contrary Opinion. I am not a Papiſt; but renounce the Pope, with all his Dependencies: When the Diſtractions in Religion firſt ſprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the *Roman*; but was utterly unſatisfied in their Doctrine in Point of Faith, and very much as to their Diſcipline. The Religion which I profeſs, is that which paſſeth under the Name of Proteſtant; though that be rather a Name of Diſtinction, than properly eſſential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation, purged from all the Errors of *Rome* in the Reign of *Edward* VI. practiſed in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles*, that bleſſed Prince, deceas'd; that Religion, before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Chriſt's Catholick, though not the *Roman* Catholick Religion; in the Profeſſion and Practice whereof I will live and die.

Then he turned himſelf to the Executioner, and ſaid, I have no Reaſon to quarrel with thee, thou art not the Hand that throws the Stone; I am not of ſuch an Eſtate to be liberal, but there is three Pounds for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack.

To which the Executioner anſwered, Your Hair muſt be turned up. Then the Colonel replied, Shew me how I muſt fit myſelf upon the Block. After which, his Doublet being pulled off, and Hair turned up, he turned again to the People, and prayed a good while. Before he lay down upon the Block, he thus expreſſed himſelf again to the People:

There is not one Face that looks upon me, though many Faces, and perhaps different from me in Opinion and Practice, but methinks hath ſomething of Pity in it; and may that Mercy which is in your Hearts, fall into your own Boſoms, when you have need of it; and may you never find ſuch Blocks of Sin to ſtand in the Way of your Mercy, as I have met with.

Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible Voice for about a Quarter of an Hour; after which, he had ſome private Conference with Dr. *Swadling*. Then taking his Leave of his Friends, Sheriffs, and Acquaintance, ſaluting them all with a courteous Valediction, he prepared himſelf for the Block, and, kneeling down, ſaid, Let me try the Block; which he did. After caſting his Eyes up, and fixing them intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, When I ſay, *Lord Jeſus, receive me*, Executioner, do thine Office. Then kiſſing the Axe, he lay down, and with as much undaunted, yet Chriſtian Courage, as poſſibly could be in Man, did he expoſe his Throat to the fatal Axe, his Life to the Executioner, and commended his Soul into the Hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious Paſſion of a gracious Redeemer; and repeating the afore-mentioned Words, his Head was ſmitten off at one Blow.

The Execution of Capt. Benſon, *at* Tyburn, October 7, 1650: *Alſo of the Reverend Mr.* Cooper, *and Major* Saul, *in* Norfolk, *for being concerned in an Inſurrection in that County.*

CAptain *Benſon* had been formerly a Retainer to Sir *John Gell*, having a Command under him during the Time Sir *John* had the Unhappineſs to ſerve the Parliament, who was likewiſe very near undergoing the ſame Fate with his Man, and the aforeſaid Sufferer, Col. *Andrews*, who both had the Misfortune to be trepann'd in the ſame Affair againſt the then prevailing Powers, but were both ſhamefully betray'd, and, according to their inhuman Sentence, executed, the Colonel as above, and *Benſon*, at *Tyburn*, *Oct.* 7, 1650, where he loyally and chriſtianly (taxing their treacherous Cruelty and Ingratitude) finiſhed his Courſe.

Not long after, the new State was alarm'd with an Inſurrection in *Norfolk*, where ſome Hundreds of them were gathered together, declaring for King *Charles* II. but the County Horſe quartering at *Lynn*, and a Troop of *Rich*'s Men, that were near at hand (being there before) having ſome Intelligence of the Deſign, preſently diſpers'd them, moſt of them flying into *Lincolnſhire*, and ſaved the *London* Forces the Trouble of a long Journey, who were then on their Way. To try theſe Inſurrectors, a High Court of Juſtice was erected by the Parliament at *Norwich*, the Members and Commiſſioners whereof choſe out of themſelves Juſtice *Jermin* their Preſident, and the Juſtices *Pulliſton* and *Warberton*, to be his Coadjutors: They condemned twenty-four, whereof twenty were executed; the Chief of thoſe thus ſentenc'd, were Mr. *Cooper*, a Miniſter in the ſame County, who was executed at

Holt, and died a loyal and Chriſtian Martyr; Major *Saul*, formerly an Officer in the King's Army, and a Merchant and Brewer in the City of *Norwich*.

The Speech of the truly loyal Colonel William Sybbald, *on the Scaffold, at the Time of his Execution at* Edinburgh, Jan. 7, 1650.

GEntlemen, I am brought this Day to this Place to pay a Debt to Nature before it be due; and by the Malice and Cruelty of mercileſs Enemies, I am ſentenced to die as a Traitor to my Country, for endeavouring to do Service for my King, on whoſe Happineſs and Welfare does depend the Welfare of theſe Kingdoms; and to whom I am bound, both by the Law of God and Man, to perform all faithful and loyal Service: And as the Cauſe for which I ſuffer, proclaims my Loyalty, ſo their Sentence does declare to all the World their Diſloyalty, and their Intentions againſt the King.

Their Self-guiltineſs makes cowardly Spirits cruel; and ſuch were their Proceedings againſt me, as that I could not obtain an Advocate to plead for me, nor any Man skilful in the Laws, either to adviſe with me, or to write my Defence, tho' they knew me to be ignorant of the Laws. Thus is my Innocency and Integrity betray'd, partly by their Malice, and my own Ignorance.

The Truth is, they did proffer to do me any Courteſy or Favour, if I would make an ingenuous Confeſſion; that is, accuſe ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen of keeping Correſpondency with his Majeſty, or with the Marquis of *Montroſs*; which, if I had done, I deſerved to have been branded with perpetual Infamy, for I never knew any Man in this Kingdom that

that did keep Correſpondency with them; neither had I Commiſſion from his Majeſty, or the Marquis of *Montroſs*, to treat with any.

And as for my Religion, I die as I lived, a true Proteſtant: This Religion, I thank God, as it preſerved me from Popiſh Superſtition, ſo it kept me from being ſeduced by the Novelty of the Times, and from being deluded with the wicked Doctrine which is now taught by the Reformers of the Kirk. It was this Religion that did keep my Hand from your Covenant; of which, in the Space of ſome five Years you gave two Interpretations, quite contradictory; for in the Year 1639, the Aſſembly did affirm (as appears by our Acts of Parliament and Aſſembly) that in all Cauſes whatſoever, you were to defend and maintain the Perſon and Dignity of your King; but in the Year 1644, you limit your Obedience to your King, to your Religion, Laws, and Liberty; and make yourſelves, in all Differences between the King and you, both Judge and Party. The Religion in which I was bred, taught me to give both to my God, and to my King their Due; it taught me to honour and worſhip God, and to expect Salvation thro' Chriſt; and to live ſoberly, and to deal juſtly with all Men.

Let me intreat you to pray unto God with me, and for me, that he would be pleaſed to pardon my many and great Sins; that he would purge my Soul with the Blood of his Son from the Guilt and Pollution of all my Sins; that I may be preſented unto my heavenly Father without Spot or Wrinkle, holy, without Blemiſh; that he would receive me through the Merits of my Saviour into everlaſting Peace, and into the glorious Eſtate of his glorious Saints in Heaven. O Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Soul; Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit; O merciful Father, forgive my Enemies, and lay not this Sin to their Charge. *Amen.*

The

The Laſt Dying Speech and Deportment of Sir Henry Hide, *on the Scaffold at the* Royal Exchange, *where he was beheaded*, March 4, 1650.

THIS Gentleman was Couſin to the great Earl of *Clarendon*, bred a *Turkey* Merchant, and after the gaining of a conſiderable Eſtate, and Experience, made their Conſul at the *Morea*; where his Integrity and Prudence drew to him ſuch Reſpect in thoſe Parts, that his Majeſty King *Charles* II. having ſome Occaſion of Correſpondence at the *Porte*, ſent him (to uſe his own Word) *Internuncio* thither for the Good of his Merchant Subjects; whereupon the Rebels, by their Agents, ſo wrought upon the Vizier, that he ſent him in the *Smyrna* Fleet, with other honeſt Perſons that ſided with him, into *England*; where, after ſome Months Impriſonment in the *Tower*, he was, by an High Court of Juſtice (which refuſed him the Liberty of pleading in *Italian*, the Language he was moſt ready and expreſſive in) accus'd of having a Deſign of ſeizing thoſe Merchants Eſtates there, and affronting Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, the old Reſident, with his new Commiſſion. To which, although Sir *Henry* made a learned Defence, yet it was all in vain to thoſe who were reſolv'd before-hand to diſpatch him: So Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him, and accordingly he loſt his Head, *March* 4, 1650; the Axe doing that at one Blow, which his many Diſeaſes would have done within a few Weeks, for he was not able either to riſe or fall of himſelf, tho' he was able to die.

The following Account of his Deportment, Colloquies, and dying Speech on the Scaffold, is printed in the very Words they were deliver'd; and tho' there may be ſome abrupt Breakings-off, and other Expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet a Word of them could not with Honeſty be alter'd; ſo that they

they are here faithfully preſented, that neither the Sufferer nor the World might be impoſed upon.

He was brought in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and the Sheriffs of *London*, as likewiſe in Company of Dr. *Hide*, and one of his Servants.

At his Arrival at the Place of Execution, Sir *Henry* thus ſpoke: I am come to put in Practice the Chriſtian Profeſſion; and as I owe a Death to Nature and Sin, now I pay it upon the Score of Grace.

Dr. *Hide*. Bleſſed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.

Then Sir *Henry* looking round on the People, ſaid, A populous City! God bleſs it, and grant that they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, I pray now, tho' I have not been a good Maſter to you, be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your Prayers, and help me both in Body and Mind, *John*; have you my Things about you, *John?*

Then ſtaying for his Servants, they being not upon the Scaffold, he ſaid, I had rather have my Servants than Strangers.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower* coming to him, he ſaid, Pray, Sir, rejoice with me: I thank Almighty God, I am brought hither to ſuffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are ſo comforted: God's Will be fulfilled in all Things.

Then the Surgeon coming (but not his Kinſman who was called for) he ſaid, My Kinſman is of no Uſe, you may be uſeful about my Body; I hope, Maſter Sheriff, that you will give Order that I may have a little Room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir *H. Hide*. And likewiſe for Liberty of Speech, and that it ſhall pleaſe you (for I am not acquainted with the Forms here of *England*) that I may ſpeak my own

own Senſe (I am now going into the Preſence of Almighty God) a very little without any Diſturbance.

Sheriff. Why, Sir, you ſhall.

Sir *H. Hide. John*, where is my Coffin?

John. It is here, Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it ſeems theſe Men can't be found.

Sir *H. Hide.* But if Mr. *Barret* could be found——

After ſome Stay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff ſpake to him, ſaying, You have your Liberty, you know your Time.

Sir *H. Hide.* Where is the Place of ſtanding, that Way, or this Way? *(Pointing towards the* Exchange *and the* Poultry.*)*

Sheriff. Which Way you pleaſe; you may ſtand which Way you will, but that Way you muſt lie, towards the *Exchange.*

Sir *H. Hide.* I am indifferent; it is not the Way to Heaven where a Man ſtands.

One brought Word to him, that there was no Help to be had.

Sir *H. Hide.* That is no Hindrance to my Felicity.

Dr. *Hide.* God enable you, that you may find that Joy and Comfort which is due to the Glory of his holy Name; he will not forſake you that have put your Truſt in him.

Sir *H. Hide.* I will open my Heart and my Mouth with Thankſgiving, if this Gentleman pleaſe to give Way.

Then turning towards the *Poultry*, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on High, on Earth Peace, Good-will to Men.*

Chriſtian People,

I Am come hither to die; I am brought hither to die, and that I may die Chriſtian-like, I humbly beſeech the Aſſiſtance of your Chriſtian Prayers, that by

by the Benefit of them, my Paſſage may be the more eaſy: Yet becauſe Men in that Condition which it hath pleaſed God to reduce me to, carry more Credit in their Speeches; in the Diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few Words, and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you join with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I deſire to render all hearty Thanks, as for all his Mercies, ſo in particular for this, that he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a Duty to Sin, and to Nature, I can pay it upon the Account of Grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an Account of that Hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the Praiſe of Almighty God, that I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion, believing to be ſaved by the only Merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt *(putting off his Hat)* and whatſoever elſe is profeſs'd in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, authorized by Law; humbly beſeeching Almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her Peace, Proſperity, and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving, however an unworthy, Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains only Chriſtian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on Earth, and that I leave, beſeeching all whomſoever I have offended, whether I have or no, to forgive me, as I from the Bottom of my Heart do them whomſoever; bleſſing Almighty God, that he hath given me this Advantage, as he hath been merciful to me before the Foundation of the World, in my Saviour; ſo that now he hath in Mercy honoured me with a Suffering for his Name, in Obedience to his Commandment.

If any be here of the *Turkey* Company this Day, or any Friend of theirs, I ſhall deſire them, from a dying Man, to take this Truth, That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother that is with me, nor other

Gentlemen with me in the Company, have contributed any thing to their Diſturbance; it was my own Buſineſs, whatſoever hath been done, that hath been to Evil, or Loſs, though I deny both of them in my Intentions. I come not here to accuſe any Man, nor excuſe myſelf, but I praiſe God for all his Deliverances; yet I know I ſhall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of Juſtice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of Miſchief. I cannot anſwer Objections: I find a Man may be in *Turkey*, or in any Place all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Bleſſed be Almighty God that hath called me to the Knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pay, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient Death. And I beſeech you all, whatſoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be aſſiſted within me, in that Paſſage to my Saviour whither I am going.

Mr. Sheriff, if there be any thing wherein I can give any other Satisfaction to any Chriſtian whatſoever, in any kind, as I ſpake in general, I bleſs God Almighty from my own Heart, now ſo aſſiſted by the eſpecial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt; if I can know any thing wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having ſerved God ſo well in my Life) ſerviceable to the Church of God, of Chriſt, and the full Satisfaction of any whatſoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my Ecſtaſies to Heaven there is that Glory I am going to. I beſeech Almighty God, that he will give me Grace to bleſs his holy Name, as for all, as for Jeſus Chriſt, and in him all Things, ſo particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my Faithfulneſs to my Maſter, that is the moſt pious and moſt juſt Prince in all the World. My Maſter hath ſuffered

ed bitterly in *England*; and if there be any Failing in his Service, the Fault is only mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the Buſineſs, but by the Inſtances of the Merchants I delivered my Letters, and there they lie: To other Things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the Grace of Perſeverance in that Chriſtian Religion, in that Loyalty to my Prince, in that Love to all the World, that now being to give up my Account to him, I may with Comfort be received into the Arms of his Mercy.

Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him, he ſaid, Honeſt Friend, I have no Quarrel with you, you are the welcome Inſtrument: Do your Work, only let me ſee the Place, that I may fit myſelf, for I have an infirm Body.

Sheriff. You ſhall when you have prayed, if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir *H. Hide.* I deſire to ſee the Block; I can pray afterwards. Here, Mr. Executioner, is that Money that is left; here is four Pounds for you.

Then being ſhewed the Block, he kiſſed it, ſaying, It is unworthy for me to put my Head where my Maſter's was: Bleſſed be God, bleſſed be his holy Name *(putting off his Hat)* I have an Infirmity in my Body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray, Mr. Sheriff, let me have a little more Room.

Sheriff. Go to Prayer, and we will clear the Room.

Sir *H. Hide.* I have, I thank Almighty God, done thoſe Chriſtian Offices belonging to me at Home; I come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he ſaid the *Lord's Prayer*; and having prayed a ſhort Space, he ſtood up, and turning to the Executioner, ſaid, Honeſt Friend, I pray give me Direction what I am to do, and do your Office: You will cure all Diſeaſes preſently; pray

direct me. Then the Executioner going to ſpread the Scarf over the Block, he ſaid, Put it not on now, but by-and-by.

Dr. *Hide*. God Almighty ſtrengthen you.

Sir *H. Hide*. God reward you.

Then the Executioner going to put up his Hair under his Cap, he thought he had been taking it off; whereupon he ſaid, Muſt I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all theſe Diſeaſes will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his Man not helping him, he ſaid, *John*, help me a little, I pray: Did not I tell you, I could neither riſe nor fall? Lay me down, and lift me up again, *John*.

Then riſing again upon his Knees, he ſpake to the Executioner, having the Axe in his Hand, Pray, Sir, give me the Axe.

And then taking the Axe in his Hand, he kiſſed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, ſaying, I will only ſay, *Lord Jeſus, receive my Soul*; and when I lift up my Right-hand, do your Work.

And then lying down again, after a little Space he lift up his Right-hand, and the Executioner, at one Stroke, ſevered his Head from his Body.

The Execution of Capt. Brown Buſhel, *who was beheaded on* Tower-hill, April 29, 1651.

CAptain *Buſhel*, an expert Seaman, and Commander of a Man of War in the Parliament Service at the Beginning of the Rebellion, had been very active in bringing the Fleet to the Prince's Command; and at the Concluſion of the War had lived ſome Years unobſerved at *London*, till at laſt he was enviouſly taken Notice of, and apprehended there, as he was waiting for an Opportunity to ſerve the King; and toſſed

toſſed about from Cuſtody to Cuſtody for the Space of three Years, and at laſt ſent to the *Tower*, where it went ſo hard with him for Neceſſaries, that his Wife was forced to come to him from as far as *Covent-Garden* with his daily Proviſion; till being condemned for delivering up *Scarborough* to the Service of his Majeſty, in 1643, he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, and beheaded; not without the Love and Lamentation of the Seamen, who at preſent had in their Power no other Aſſiſtance than their good Wiſhes, to dedicate to his Service.

The Manner of the Sufferings and Death of the Right Honourable James *Earl of* Derby, *upon the Scaffold, at* Bolton *in* Lancaſhire: *Together with a true Copy of his Speech and Deportment, and Prayers before his Death, on* Wedneſday, October 15, 1651.

THE Earl of *Derby* (according to an Order of the Court-Martial held at *Cheſter*, by which he was ſentenced to die at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*) was brought to that Town with a Guard of Horſe and Foot of Col. *Jones*'s, commanded by one *Southley*, who received his Order from Col. *Robert Duckenfield*, betwixt twelve and one o'Clock, on *Wedneſday* the 15th of *October*; the People weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the Way from the Priſon at *Cheſter* to the Place of his Death.

He was brought to a Houſe in the Town near the Croſs, where the Scaffold was raiſed; and as he paſſed by, ſaid, VENIO, DOMINE, *I am prepared to fulfil thy Will, O my God: This Scaffold muſt be my Croſs; bleſſed Saviour, I take it up willingly, and follow thee.* From thence going into a Chamber with ſome Friends and Servants, he was advertiſed by the Commander in Chief, that he had till three o'Clock allowed him to prepare

prepare for Death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the People of the Town and Country generally refuſing to carry ſo much as a Plank, or ſtrike a Nail, or lend any Aſſiſtance to that Work; their Cry being generally in the Streets, *O ſad Day! O woful Day!* Shall the good Earl of *Derby* die here? Many ſad Loſſes have we had in this War, but none like unto this! for now the ancient Honour of our Country muſt ſuffer here. And to add to his Trouble, moſt of the Timber that built the Scaffold was of the Ruins of *Latham* Houſe; but nothing could alter his Lordſhip's Reſolution and Courage; for with a ſtedfaſt, compoſed, and chearful Countenance, he called the Company which were preſent to Prayers with him, wherein he ſhewed admirable Fervency, and a kind of humble Importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his Sins, be merciful to his Soul, and be gracious to this Land, in reſtoring the King, Laws, and Liberty; and that he would be a Husband to his Wife, a Father to his Children, and a Friend to all thoſe that ſuffered by his Loſs, or that had been Friends to him.

Riſing from Prayer, he ſat down with a very pleaſing Countenance, and aſſured the Standers by, that God had heard his Prayers, which the bleſſed Spirit of God witneſſed unto him in the preſent Comforts he now felt in his Soul: Then he entered into a Diſcourſe of his Life, and beſeeched God to forgive him the Days and Time he had miſ-ſpent; and ſaid, it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked ſo circumſpectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a Senſe of his Sins, and a tender Reſpect to all the Services, Servants, and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had Mercy for him, that he had ſtrengthened and comforted him againſt all the Terrors of Death.

After

After theſe, and ſome other Words to this Purpoſe, he deſired his Friends, and the People by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, riſing from his Knees, he appeared fully ſatisfied of a gracious Return to his Prayers, and never after ſhewed any Sadneſs in his Countenance.

His next Buſineſs was with his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he publickly charged to be dutiful to his ſad Mother, affectionate to his diſtreſſed Brothers and Siſters, and ſtudious of the Peace of his Country: But eſpecially, ſaid he, Son, I charge you, upon my Bleſſing, and upon the Bleſſing you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your diſtreſſed Mother, ever obedient to her Commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a Perſon well known to the moſt eminent Perſonages of *England*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Holland*, noted for Piety, Prudence, and all honourable Virtues; and certainly, the more you are obedient to her, the more you will increaſe in Favour with God and Man.

Then he deſired to be private in the Room himſelf; where he was obſerved to be about half an Hour upon his Knees, with frequent Interjections of Groans and Sighs before his God: Then, when he called the Company in again, his Eyes witneſſed to us, that he had abundantly mixed Tears with his Prayers; he told us, That he was very willing to leave the World, being aſſured by the Teſtimony of God's Spirit, that he ſhould be carried from Trouble to Reſt and Peace, from Sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death; and that Death had no Bitterneſs in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children, whom he humbly commended to the Protection and Providence of a better Husband, and a better Father; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who ſat in the Seat of Authority, would make Proviſion for them, hoping that his Death might ſatisfy all thoſe who

who ſought his Life, whom he freely forgave, and deſired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his Leave of him, and bleſſed him; which indeed would have grieved any one's Heart, though never ſo harden'd, to ſee the parting of him now with his Son; and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Catharine*, and the Lady *Amely-Stanley*, upon the Road betwixt *Cheſter* and *Bolton* the Day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his Way to the Scaffold, the People prayed, and wept, and cried aloud: To whom his Lordſhip, with a chearful Countenance, and courteous Humbleneſs, ſaid, Good People, I thank you, and I beſeech you ſtill pray for me, and our bleſſed God return your Prayers back into your own Boſoms: The God of Mercy bleſs you, the Son of God eſtabliſh you in Righteouſneſs, and the Holy Ghoſt fill you with all Comforts. ——— Coming near the Scaffold, he looked up, and ſaid, God, I thank thee; I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there; there are but theſe few Steps to my Eternity. Then kiſſing the Ladder, he went up, and ſaluted the People, and walked a Turn or two upon the Scaffold: Then he went to the Eaſt-end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his Hat again, ſaluting the People with a chearful Countenance, and ſpoke as follows:

I Am come, by the Will of my heavenly Father, to die in this Place; and, I thank God, I do with all Willingneſs and Readineſs ſubmit to his moſt bleſſed Will: 'Tis a Place I deſired to ſee when I was laſt in the Country, both for the mutual Obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, as alſo for your particular Reſpects to me, whom I have underſtood to be ready to clear me from that foul Imputation, That I was a Man of Blood; and that particularly I kill'd one *Bootle* here in cool Blood. I doubt not but there

there are here many Men preſent, both that Day this Town was taken, and divers other times during this War, that can juſtify I preſerved many Lives; but I know there is not any one preſent that can lay the Blood of any Man whatſoever to my Charge, unleſs what might caſually happen in the Fury and Heat of a Battle. And why I die in this Town, I know not, unleſs it be to perſuade the Nation, that I fall as a Sacrifice for that Blood which ſome ſaid I ſhed here; for which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had alſo cleared myſelf before my grand Judges at *Weſtminſter*, had they pleaſed to hear me, before they had deſtroyed me; that Report being haſtily brought up among them by ſome that I hope God hath forgiven; and too readily drank in by others, whom I pray God to forgive.

As for my Crime, as ſome are pleaſed to term it, which was objected againſt me by the Council of War (for *Bootle*'s Death was never mention'd againſt me there, that being only ſecretly uſed to raiſe a Prejudice againſt me in the Judgments of ſuch as did not know me) my Crime, I ſay, though I hope it deſerves a far better Name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawful King. I came in Obedience to his Majeſty's Call, whom, both by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Land, I conceived myſelf obliged to obey; and according to the Proteſtation I took in Parliament, in the Time of that bleſſed Prince his Father; ſo, if it be my Crime, I have confeſs'd it again before God, Angels, and Men, that I love Monarchy as the beſt Government, and I die with Love and Honour, and for the Love and Honour I bear to my Maſter, that now is, *Charles* the Second of that Name, whom I myſelf, in this Country, proclaimed King; the Lord bleſs and preſerve him, and incline the Hearts of thoſe that have Power in this Nation, to accept him to his Father's Throne, with Honour and Peace; for

certainly, as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never thoroughly happy, without a King; ſo I believe alſo, that King *Charles* the Second, our now lawful King, were he a Stranger to this Crown, were the moſt fit, and moſt accompliſh'd Prince that this Day lives, to take the Government of this People; his admirable Piety, Virtue, Juſtice, great Valour, and Diſcretion, far above ſo few Years, do now make him, in all Places he comes, highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations; and I wiſh the People of this Nation ſo much Happineſs (when my Eyes are cloſed) that he may peaceably be received to the Enjoyment of his juſt Right, and then they ſhall never want their juſt Right, which till then they will always want.

But, O God! give me Grace to conſider him who ſuffered ſuch Contradiction of Sinners; and, O my God, aſſert the King to his Father's Throne, aſſert the Laws to their former Honour, and reſtore thy own Religion in its Purity; that all theſe Shadows and falſe Pretences of Religion may vaniſh away, and our Childrens Poſterities may ſerve thee in Spirit, and in Truth.

Good Friends, I die for the King *, the Laws of the Land, and the Proteſtant Religion maintained in the Church of *England*; all which, as I was ready to maintain with my Life, ſo I chearfully ſuffer for them in this welcome Death——

* At which Words, King and Laws, a Trooper ſaid aloud, *We will have neither King, Lord, nor Laws*; and upon a ſudden, the Soldiers being either ſurprized with Fear at a ſtrange Noiſe that was heard, or elſe falling into Mutiny, riding up and down the Streets, cutting and ſlaſhing the People, ſome being kill'd, and many wounded; his Lordſhip looking upon this ſad Spectacle, ſaid thus: Gentlemen, it troubles me more than my own Death, that others are hurt, and

and I fear die for me; I beſeech you ſtay your Hands, I fly not, you purſue not me, and here are none to purſue you. But being interrupted in his Speech, and not permitted to go on further (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turned aſide to his Servant, and gave him the Speech into his Hand, ſaying, I will ſpeak to my God, who I know will hear me, and when I am dead, let the World know what I would have ſaid. Here his Lordſhip was interrupted, but it was as follows in his own Copy, under his own Hand:

—— I am ſentenced to Death by a Council of War, after Quarter for Life, and Aſſurance of honourable and ſafe Uſage by Captain *Edge*. I had Reaſon to have expected the Council would have juſtified my Plea, which hath been ancient, honourable, ſacred, and inviolable, until this Time that I am made the firſt ſuffering Precedent: For I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any Chriſtian Nation was adjudged to Death by a Council of War after Quarter given; I am the firſt, and I pray God I may be the laſt Precedent in this Caſe.

Of my Faith and Religion I ſhall not, I hope, need to ſay much; herein I hope my Enemies, if now I have any, will ſpeak for me. I profeſs my Faith to be in God only, from whom I look for my Salvation, through the precious Merits and Sufferings of my bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which Merits and Sufferings, I hope, are applied to my Soul by the bleſſed Spirit of God, by whom I am aſſured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Redeemer.

I die a dutiful Son to the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed in that bleſſed Prince my late Maſter's Reign, which all Men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the moſt pure and agreeable to the Word of God, and primitive Government, of any Church within twelve or thirteen Hundred Years ſince

Chriſt, and which (to my great Comfort) I left eſtabliſhed in the *Iſle of Man*; God preſerve it there, and reſtore it to this Nation.

Preſently after the Tumult was over, his Lordſhip called for the Headſman, and asked to ſee the Axe; and taking it in his Hand, ſaid, Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am ſure it cannot hurt me; and then kiſſing it, ſaid, Methinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is as a Sign I am to leave all the World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour. Then putting his Hand in his Pocket, ſaid to the Headſman, Here, Friend, take theſe two Pieces, all that I have, thou muſt be my Prieſt, I pray thee do thy Work well and effectually. Then handling the rough furr'd Coat the Headſman had on, This, ſays he, will be troubleſome to thee, I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this Garment of my Fleſh, that is now ſo heavy for my Soul. Then ſome of the Standers-by bad the Headſman kneel, and ask his Lordſhip Pardon; but he did not, and was ſurly and crabbed: But his Lordſhip ſaid, Friend, I give thee the Pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee alſo.

Here his Lordſhip cauſed the Block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church, ſaying, Whilſt I am here I will look towards thy holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few Minutes, I ſhall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the Shadow of thy Wings ſhall be my Reſt, till this Calamity be over-paſt. Then he pulled off his Blue Garter, and ſent it to his Son, and pulling off his Doublet, with a very religious Chearfulneſs, he ſaid, I come, Lord Jeſus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever: Upon this he ſaid, Pray tell me how I muſt lie, I have been called a bloody Man, yet truly I never yet had that ſevere Curioſity to ſee any Man put to Death in Peace: Then laying himſelf down on the Block, after a few Minutes he roſe again,

and

and cauſed the Block to be a little removed; then ſaid to the Headſman, Friend, remember what I ſaid to thee; and be no more afraid to ſtrike, than I to die; and when I put up my Hand, do thy Work. So looking round about upon his Friends, and the People, he ſaid, The Lord bleſs you all, and once more pray for me and with me; at which Words, he kneeled down, and prayed privately within himſelf, with great Sighing, about half a Quarter of an Hour, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. So laying his Neck upon the Block, and, having ſtretched out his Arms, he ſaid theſe Words:

Bleſſed be God's glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory. Amen, Amen.

At which Words he gave the Headſman the Sign; but he either not obſerving it, or not being ready, ſtayed too long, ſo that his Lordſhip roſe up again, ſaying, Why do you keep me from my Saviour? What have I done, that I die not, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay myſelf down in Peace, and ſo take my everlaſting Reſt. Then ſaying, *Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly*, he ſtretched out his Arms, and gave the Sign, repeating the ſame Words: *Bleſſed be God's glorious Name*, &c.

Then liſting up his Hand, the Executioner did his Work at one Blow, all the People weeping and crying, and giving all Expreſſions of Grief and Lamentation. When the Body was taken off the Scaffold, they carried it to a Houſe in the Town, where were thrown into his Coffin, in a Piece of Paper theſe two Lines:

Upon JAMES Earl of DERBY.

Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (here) in one lie dead,
A Stanley's *Hand*, Vere's *Heart, and* Cecil's *Head.*

The

The Sentence of the Council of War.

Reſolved by the Court upon the Queſtion,

That *James* Earl of *Derby* is guilty of the Breach of the Act of the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1651, laſt paſt, entituled, *An Act prohibiting Correſpondence with* Charles Stuart, *or his Party*; and ſo of High Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth of *England*, and is therefore worthy of Death.

Reſolved by the Court,

That the ſaid *James* Earl of *Derby* is a Traitor to the Commonwealth of *England*, and an Abettor, Encourager, and Aſſiſter of the declared Traitors and Enemies thereof, and ſhall be put to Death, by ſevering his Head from his Body, at the Market-place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, upon *Wedneſday* the 15th Day of this Inſtant *October*, about the Hour of one of the Clock the ſame Day.

The Execution of Capt. Symkins, *and Sir* Timothy Fetherſtonhaugh, *who was beheaded at* Cheſter: *As likewiſe of Colonel* Benbow, *who was ſhot to Death at* Shrewsbury *in* October 1651.

BEfore the ſame Court Martial that had adjudged the Earl of *Derby* to Death at *Cheſter*, divers other *Engliſh* Priſoners taken at *Newport*, &c. were brought, Ten whereof were condemn'd by Virtue of the Act againſt holding Correſpondence with the King, and Five executed, among whom was one Capt. *Symkins*, formerly Governor of *Beaumaris*, who was ſhot to Death for carrying a Letter from the King to Sir *Thomas Middleton*. Soon after Sir *Timothy Fetherſtonhaugh* fell a Sacrifice to rebellious Rage, being ſentenc'd, by the ſame Court to loſe his Head for his Loyalty

Loyalty to his Sovereign, and accordingly laid down his Life at *Cheſter*, which he had ventured magnanimouſly in the Field at *Wiggan* in *Lancaſhire*, with the Earl of *Derby*, with whom he was taken Priſoner. At his fatal Sentence he denounced Judgment on the Murderers that paſſed it; ſetting forth the Foulneſs of their Fact with as much Power on their Conſciences, as they did his Loyalty upon his Perſon, and praying as heartily for the King then in Danger, as for his own Soul, doing all he could honourably to ſave his Life, that he might not be *Felo de ſe*; and nothing diſhonourably, that he might not be a Traitor to his Allegiance: Nor is the brave Colonel *Benbow* to be forgotten, who was ſentenc'd likewiſe by the ſame Court to be ſhot to Death at *Shrewsbury*, having been obſerv'd to be very active in the Engagement at *Worceſter*.

I cannot better conclude this Account of the three aforeſaid Sufferers (who loſt their Lives in *Oct.* 1651) than with the following Relation of the deſperate State of the Royal Party at that Time, in the Words of my Lord *Clarendon*: 'When *Cromwell* returned to '*London*, he cauſed ſeveral High Courts of Juſtice to 'be erected, by which many Gentlemen of Quality 'were condemned and executed in many Parts of the 'Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been 'taken Priſoners at *Worceſter*, or diſcovered to have 'been there. And that the Terror might be univerſal, ſome ſuffered for looſe Diſcourſes in Taverns, 'what they would do towards reſtoring the King; and 'others for having blank Commiſſions found in their 'Hands, ſign'd by the King, tho' they never had attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought 'appear'd, intended to do. And under theſe deſolate 'Apprehenſions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay groveling and proſtrate after the Defeat at *Worceſter*.'

The

The Sufferings of Col. John Gerard, *and Mr.* Peter Vowel, *the firſt being beheaded on* Tower-hill, July *the* 10*th*, 1654, *the latter hang'd the ſame Day at* Charing-Croſs.

NO ſooner had *Cromwell* concluded a Peace with the *Dutch*, but in order to the Eſtabliſhment of his Empire at Home, a High Court of Juſtice was erected for the Tryal of Perſons accus'd of Holding Correſpondence with *Charles Stuart*, and for having a Deſign againſt the Life of the Protector, to ſeize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King. The chief Perſons they accus'd of this, were Mr. *Gerard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Enſign in the King's Army, but was not, at preſent, above twenty-two Years of Age; the other, one Mr. *Vowel*, who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Iſlington*.

Mr. *Gerard* was charg'd with having been at *Paris*, and having ſpoken there with the King; which he confeſs'd, and declar'd, that he went to *Paris* about a Buſineſs that concerned himſelf (which he named) and when he had diſpatch'd it, and was to return for *England*, he deſired the Lord *Gerard*, his Kinſman, to preſent him to the King, that he might kiſs his Hand; which he did, in a large Room, where were many preſent; and that when he asked his Majeſty, whether he would command him in any Service in *England?* His Majeſty bid him to commend him to his Friends there, and to engage them that they ſhould be quiet, and not engage themſelves in any Plots; which muſt prove ruinous to them, and could do the King no Good. However, this High Court of Juſtice received Proof, that Mr. *Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* had been preſent with ſome other Gentlemen at a Tavern, where Diſcourſe had been held, how eaſy a Thing it was to kill the Pro-

Protector, and at the ſame time to ſeize upon the Tower of *London*; and that, if at the ſame time the King were proclaim'd, the City of *London* would preſently declare for his Majeſty, and no-body would oppoſe him.

Upon this Evidence, theſe two Gentlemen were condemn'd to be hang'd; and upon the 10th of *July*, about two Months after they had been in Priſon, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Croſs*; whither Mr. *Vowel* was brought; who was a Perſon utterly unknown to the King, and to any Perſon entruſted by him, but very worthy to have his Name and Memory preſerv'd in the Liſt of thoſe, who ſhew'd moſt Magnanimity and Courage in ſacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expreſſed a marvellous Contempt of Death; which, he ſaid, he ſuffered without having committed any Fault. He profeſs'd his Duty to the King, and Reverence to the Church; and earneſtly and pathetically advis'd the People to return to their Fidelity to both; which, he told them, they would at laſt be compelled to do after all their S.fferings. He addreſs'd himſelf moſt to the Soldiers, telling them, how unworthily they proſtituted themſelves to ſerve the Ambition of an unworthy Tyrant; and conjur'd them to forſake him, and to ſerve the King; which he was ſure they would do at laſt. And ſo having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and himſelf to God, in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much Chriſtian Reſolution, as can be expected from the moſt compoſed Conſcience.

The Protector was prevailed with to ſhew more Reſpect to Mr. *Gerard*, in cauſing him to be beheaded; who was brought the Afternoon of the ſame Day to a Scaffold upon *Tower-hill*: But they were ſo ill pleaſed with the Behaviour of him who ſuffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to ſpeak to

the People; ſo I ſhall preſent the Reader with the following Account of him.

When Col. *Gerard* was brought on the Scaffold, he was told by the Sheriff, if he ſpoke any thing, it muſt be very brief, and that he muſt not ſuffer him to ſpeak any thing that was ſeditious. Well, Gentlemen, reply'd he, your Will be done; but, God be praiſed, I never yet had to do with any Thing that was ſeditious! I would fain have ſpoken ſomething to clear myſelf to the World, according to Cuſtom, if it might have been: But come, Sir, ſaid he, turning to the Miniſter, Let you and I ſpeak to him that will give us Leave; and ſo kneeling down together in a Corner of the Stage, the Miniſter prayed with him a ſhort time; which done, they ſtood up again. Then turning himſelf to the People, and putting off his Hat, he told them, That he was not permitted to ſpeak a few Words according to his Intention, yet he doubted not but what he would have ſaid would come to their Eyes, though it muſt not come to their Ears: But this I deſire all to take Notice of, *and this he ſpoke with a double Vehemence*, That I die a faithful Subject and Servant to King *Charles* II. whom I pray God to bleſs and reſtore to his Rights; and had I ten thouſand thouſand Lives, I would gladly lay them all down thus for his Service. Here he was interrupted; and the Sheriff wiſhed him rather to confeſs what he knew concerning the horrid Plot he was condemned for. He anſwered, That he had confeſſed all that he knew concerning any Plot; that he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemn'd him, than he did, but he heartily forgave them. The Miniſter told him, it was well done to forgive and pardon thoſe that perſecute us; this was an Act of Chriſtian Love; but as his Caſe ſtood, Love was not enough; he ought to deal in this Buſineſs upon which his Life lay, with all Candour and Sincerity, not con-

concealing any thing of that Nature as was charged againſt him, as far as he might glorify God, and ſerve the Publick Good. Upon which, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, and laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, Oh, Sir, ſaid he, if there had been any ſuch thing in this Breaſt, would I not have revealed it before this time! I proteſt, in the Sight of Almighty God, I knew no more of any ſuch Deſign, but only what I have often acknowledged, that it was motioned only to me by *Henſhaw*, who, I confidently believe, is in their Hands, and debated twice or thrice when I was with him; but I never entertained it at all, and at the laſt flatly diſown'd it, and told him I would have nothing to do in it. He was many times preſſing me to nominate what Perſons I knew I could bring, and to have their Names; but let them ſhew any ſuch Thing, if they can, againſt me: But I am certain he is in their Hands. Pauſing here a little, and fetching a Turn or two upon the Scaffold, being very hot, as he had been all that Morning, he called for ſome Small-Beer, which he had given Order to be ready, and was brought thither in a Stone-bottle, of which he drank a little once or twice. Then the Miniſter went to him, and minded him, that ſomething might be expected from him as to his Religion, and Diſpoſition to die. To which (gathering up an extraordinary Reſolution in his Face) he reply'd, I die a Chriſtian, a true Chriſtian, according to that Faith and Religion which was profeſſed in the Church of *England* in the Time of our late King, of bleſſed Memory: And I praiſe God, I am ſo fitted, and ready to die, that I am confident, by the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus, that my Sins are pardoned, and my Salvation is at Hand.

When he had done, the Lieutenant ſaid ſomething to him, as it ſeems, concerning his Brother *Charles*, that he had witneſſed againſt him (I know not what the Lieutenant ſaid, for he ſpake low) but Mr. *Gerard*

ſpake aloud, and replied paſſionately, O Chriſt! Sir, I love my poor Brother with all my Heart; he is but a Youth, and was terrified; I know how he was dealt with. Tell him, I love him as well as ever I lov'd him in my Life: And commend me to my Brother Sir *Gilbert*, whoſe Releaſe, I beſeech you, Sir, to aſſiſt; there being no more Cauſe, that I know of, for his Impriſonment, than only that he was found in the ſame Bed with me, which ſure is no capital Crime. Having ſaid this, he took his Leave of him, and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the Stage: And turning about once more to the People, deſired them to pray for him; himſelf kneeling down with the Miniſter, laid his Hand in his Boſom, and they prayed together the laſt Time. After this, he bad them all farewel again, and beſought them to remember they had a poor Sovereign abroad, who deſerved to be remembered. Then forgiving the Executioner, and ſaluting the Miniſter, with his laſt Embrace and Kiſſes, he bow'd himſelf to the Stroke of Death, with as much Chriſtian Meekneſs and noble Courage mix'd together, as I believe was ever ſeen in any that had bled upon that Altar. And this all the People that were Spectators did ſeem to underſtand and acknowledge, beholding his fatal Blow with an univerſal Sadneſs and Silence.

The Execution of Mr. Lucas, *who was beheaded, and of Mr.* Kenſey, *Mr.* Thorpe, John Fryer, *and* John Lawrence, *who were hanged at* Salisbury, *in* May, 1655.

THERE cannot be a greater Manifeſtation of the univerſal Prejudice and Averſion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there ſhould be ſo many Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt him. The Inſurrection in the Weſt, in

in which ſo many Perſons of conſiderable Figure were engag'd, was no little Surpriſe to him, eſpecially at a time when he knew not how to truſt his Army in a collected Body. But all this Apprehenſion vaniſh'd, when it was known, that within four or five Hours after the King had been proclaimed in one of his chief Cities, *viz. Salisbury* (while his Judges, and all the Civil Power of that County, that were in it, were taken Priſoners) they had left it in Diſorder and Confuſion among themſelves, and marched to *Chard*, in *Somerſetſhire*, thence to *Southmolton*, in *Devonſhire*, where, being over-power'd by Captain *Unton Crook*, *Penruddock*, and *Grove*, with others (ſeveral Gentlemen of Note making their Eſcape) they yielded, upon Quarter for Life. No ſooner was *Cromwell* appriz'd of this cheap Victory, but Commiſſioners were forthwith diſpatch'd for the Tryal of the Inſurrectors; and accordingly they firſt ſat at *Salisbury*, *April* 12, 1655: Judge *Windham* Preſident, *Dove* High Sheriff, and the Jury like him; where they condemned ſix, five of whom were put to Death, whoſe Names thus ſtand upon Record: 1. Mr. *John Lucas*, a Mercer, of a very good Eſtate and Quality in *Hungerford*, a plain and underſtanding Man, who unfortunately ſtayed in Town when it was in his Power to have made his Eſcape; there was great Intereſt us'd for a Reprieve, which was expected by the Priſoner, but he was baſely diſappointed; but being ſomewhat of a ſuperior Rank to the others, had the Favour of being beheaded. 2. Mr. *Kenſey*, a Gentleman (as they ſay of the *French*) in a manner born with his Sword by his Side, a modeſt Man, that underſtood the World, and chearfully reſign'd himſelf to the Divine Will in his laſt Moments. 3. Mr. *Thorpe*. 4. *John Fryer*. 5. *John Lawrence*. Perſons, who, tho' they had no Pedigrees to boaſt of, yet have this Honour, that the chief of their Judges lived to beg his Pardon and Life with Tears, for condemning

demning them, when the moſt inconſiderable of them ſcorn'd to beg their Lives of him; and are Inſtances of Monſieur *Charron*'s Tenet of Nobility, That there may be mean Perſons of the nobleſt Extraction, and noble Perſons of the meaneſt.

The Behaviour and laſt dying Speech of the piouſly reſolved Col. Hugh Grove, *who was beheaded,* May 16, 1655, *in the Caſtle of* Exon.

COlonel *Hugh Grove*, of *Chiſenbury*, in the Pariſh of *Enford*, in the County of *Wilts*, Eſq; had the Character of a pious, honeſt, meek, and very grave Gentleman, of ſerious Thoughts, and few Words, who together with the aforeſaid loyal Sufferer, undertaking in that noble Engagement for his Majeſty's Reſtoration, the juſt Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the eſtabliſh'd Religion, roſe with Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, in the Weſt, upon Confidence of the Generality of the Deſign, and the Diſcontents of the late diſſolv'd Parliament; and being taken Priſoner at the Defeat at *Southmoulton*, in *Devonſhire*, after a cloſe Impriſonment at *Exeter*, and and ſtrict Examination before *Oliver Cromwell*, at *London*, in order to diſcover ſome noble Perſons concern'd, at laſt, among others, receiv'd his Tryal at *Exeter* aforeſaid, where, knowing that the Judges were prepoſſeſſed, he addreſſed himſelf to the Jury, ſhewing them by the known Laws of the Land, that this loyal Attempt was Duty, and not Treaſon; which being over-rul'd, as the whole Current of the Law at that Time was, Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him, and accordingly he was brought to the Scaffold in the Caſtle Yard at *Exon*, *May* 16, 1655, where he thus addreſſed himſelf to the Publick:

Good

Good People,

I Never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever loved long Speeches in all my Life; and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my Death. All that I ſhall deſire of you, beſides your hearty Prayers for my Soul, is, that you will bear me Witneſs, I die a true Son of the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed by King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt (of ever bleſſed Memory): That I die a loyal Subject to King *Charles* the Second, my undoubted Sovereign, and a Lover of the good old Laws of the Land, the juſt Privileges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties of the People; for the Re-eſtabliſhing of all which, I did undertake this Engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my Life. God forgive the bloody-minded Jury, and thoſe that procured them: God forgive Capt. *Crook* for denying his Articles ſo unworthily: God forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other Perſons ſwearing ſo maliciouſly and falſly againſt me: God forgive all my Enemies, I heartily forgive them. God bleſs the King, and all that love him, and turn the Hearts of all them that hate him: God bleſs you all, and be merciful to you, and to my Soul. *Amen.*

And ſo meekly laying his Neck to the Block, and giving a Sign, his Head, at one Blow, and a Draw of the Axe, was ſevered from his Body, which was afterwards buried in the Chancel of St. *Sidwell*'s Church.

Beſides the above Sufferer, there were twenty-five condemned at *Exeter*, among whom was Col. *John Penruddock*, eleven whereof were hanged at the common Place of Execution, who having recover'd the Faintneſs they were in when they ſurrender'd, died with great Courage and Reſolution, profeſſing their Duty and Loyalty to the King; and were afterwards buried

buried in a very ſolemn and decent manner, in that City, a great Number of People attending their Funerals, and defraying the Charges thereof, extending the ſame Civility to them dead, which they had afforded liberally to them living; ſo great a Plenty there was at that Time of the Royal Party, whoſe Hearts were intirely loyal, notwithſtanding thoſe ſevere Methods of proceeding; which ſhews, that Uſurpers have been always more oblig'd to the Force of their Arms, than to the Affections of the People.

At *Chard*, in *Somerſetſhire*, in their Return, they condemned five more, the principal whereof was Major *Hunt*, whom his Siſters coming to viſit, and take their laſt Farewel of him, on the Night before his Execution, he chang'd Cloaths with one of them (pretending before to be indiſpos'd, and to keep his Bed) and with a Handkerchief (as pretending Weeping and Sobbing) before his Eyes, was let out, while a Guard at the Door watched his Siſter's Sleep that Night, who next Morning, awaking the ſuppoſed Major to make ready for Death, perceived the Stratagem; after which, ſeveral who had been condemn'd in other Parts for this Inſurrection, were repriev'd and ſold, and ſent as Slaves to *Barbadoes*, where their Treatment was ſuch, that few of them ever returned into their own Country.

'Thus (as a great Author obſerves) this little 'Fire, which probably might have kindled and in-'flamed the whole Kingdom, was for the preſent 'extinguiſhed in the Weſt; and *Cromwell* ſecur'd 'without the Help of his Army, which he ſaw, 'by the Countenance it then ſhew'd when they 'thought he ſhould have Uſe of them, it was high 'time to reform, and in that he reſolv'd to uſe no 'longer Delay.

The

The Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, *which he delivered upon the Scaffold in* Exon *Caſtle, the* 16*th Day of* May, 1655.

AS he was aſcending the Scaffold, baring his Knees, and humbly bowing himſelf, he uſed theſe Words; This, I hope, will prove to be like *Jacob*'s Ladder; though the Feet of it reſt on Earth, yet I doubt not but the Top of it reacheth to Heaven. When he came upon the Scaffold, he ſaid,

O wretched Man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this Body of Death? I thank God, who hath given me the Victory, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Then, with abundance of Chriſtian Chearfulneſs, he ſpake to the People as followeth:

Gentlemen,

IT hath ever been the Cuſtom of all Perſons whatſoever, when they come to die, to give ſome Satisfaction to the World, whether they be guilty of the Fact of which they ſtand charged. The Crime for which I am now to die, is *Loyalty*, but in this Age called *High Treaſon*. I cannot deny but that I was at *Southmoulton* in this County; but whether my being there, or my Action there, amounts to ſo high a Crime as High Treaſon, I leave to the World and the Law to judge. Truly, if I were conſcious to myſelf of any baſe Ends that I had in this Undertaking, I would not be ſo injurious to my own Soul, or diſingenuous to you, as not to make a publick Acknowledgment thereof. I ſuppoſe that divers Perſons, according as they are by their ſeveral Intereſts and Relation biaſſed, give their Opinions to the World concerning us; I conceive it impoſſible therefore ſo to expreſs

myſelf in this Particular, as not to expoſe both my Judgment and Reputation to the Cenſure of many which I ſhall leave behind me. Becauſe I will not put others therefore upon a Breach of Charity concerning me, or my Actions, I have thought fit to decline all Diſcourſes which may give them a Capacity either to injure themſelves or me.

Had Captain *Crook* done himſelf and us that Right which a Gentleman and a Soldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The Man I forgive with all my Heart; but, truly, Gentlemen, his proteſting againſt thoſe Articles he himſelf with ſo many Proteſtations and Importunities put upon us, hath drawn ſo much Diſhonour and Blood upon his own Head, that I fear ſome heavy Judgment will purſue him. Though he hath been falſe to us, I pray God, that I do not prove a true Prophet to him.

Nay, I muſt ſay more; that coming on the Road to *Exon*, he the ſaid Captain *Crook* told me, Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe* was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was ſorry that he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the Benefit of our Articles: But now, ſaid he, I have beſet all the Country for him, ſo that he cannot eſcape, but muſt be hanged.

He alſo queſtioned me, as I paſſed through *Salisbury* from *London*, whether he had given me Conditions? Which I endeavouring to make appear to Major *Butler*, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confeſſed it, ſaying, I proffered him four hundred Pounds to perform his Articles; which had been a ſtrange Proffer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred Pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it further appear I injure him not by calling him unworthy, after theſe Articles were given, he proffered to piſtol me, if I did not perſuade another Houſe to yield, which then were boldly

boldly reſiſting. To which my Servant *John Biby* (now a Priſoner) replied, I hope you will not be ſo unworthy as to break the Law of Arms.

Thus much I am obliged to ſay to the Honour of the Soldiery, that they have been ſo far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them than otherwiſe.

It is now our Misfortunes to be made Precedents and Examples together; but I will not do the Protector ſo much Injury as to load him with this Diſhonour; ſince I have been informed, that he would have made our Conditions good, if *Crook* that gave them had not abjur'd them.

This is not a Time for me to inlarge upon any Subject, ſince I am now become the Subject of Death: But ſince the Articles were drawn by my own Hand, I thought myſelf obliged in a particular Juſtification of them.

I could tell you of ſome Soldiers who are turned out of his Troop for juſtifying thoſe Conditions of ours: But let that paſs; and henceforward inſtead of Life, Liberty, and Eſtate, which were the Articles agreed upon, let Drawing, Hanging, and Quartering bear the Denomination of Captain *Crook*'s Articles.

However, I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable Death.

I ſhould now give you an Account of my Faith. But truly, Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into ſo many Opinions, that it is impoſſible for me to give you mine, without diſpleaſing ſome of you: However, if any be ſo critical as to inquire in what Faith I die, I ſhall refer him to the Apoſtles, *Athanaſius*, and the *Nicene Creeds*, and to the Teſtimony of this Reverend Gentleman, Dr. *Short*, to whom I have unboſomed myſelf; and if this do not ſatisfy, look into the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Catholick Church of *Eng-*

land; to whom I have ſubſcribed, and do own them as authentick.

Having now given you an Account concerning myſelf, I hold myſelf obliged in Duty to ſome of my Friends, to take off a Suſpicion which lies upon them; I mean as to ſome Perſons of Honour, which upon my Examination I was charged to hold Correſpondence with. The Marquis of *Hertford*, the Marquis of *Winchester*, and my Lord of *Pembroke*, were the Perſons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now ſecond it with this Proteſtation, that I never held any Correſpondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular Buſineſs, or indeed to any thing which concerned the Protector, or his Government. As for the Marquis of *Winchester*, I ſaw him ſome twelve Years ſince, and not later; and if I ſhould ſee him here preſent, I believe I ſhould not know him. And as for the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was not a Man likely to whom I ſhould diſcover my Thoughts, becauſe he is a Man of a contrary Judgment.

I was examined likewiſe concerning my Brother *Freke*, my Couſin *Haſtings*, Mr. *Dorrington*, and others. It is probable their Eſtates may make them liable to this my Condition: But I do here ſo far acquit them, as to give the World this further Proteſtation, that I am confident they are as innocent in this Buſineſs as the youngeſt Child here.

I have no more to ſay to you now, but to let you know that I am in Charity with all Men, I thank God: I both can and do forgive my greateſt Perſecutors, and all that ever had any Hand in my Death.

I have offered the Protector as good Security for my future Behaviour as I ſuppoſe he could have expected: If he had thought fit to have given me my Life, certainly I ſhould not have been ſo ungrateful as to have employed it againſt him. I do humbly ſubmit to God's Pleaſure, knowing that the Iſſues of Life and Death

Death are in his Hand. My Blood is but a ſmall Sacrifice; if it had been ſaved, I am ſo much of a Gentleman, as to have given him Thanks that had preſerved it; and ſo much a Chriſtian, as to forgive them which take it. But ſeeing God by his Providence hath called me to lay it down, I willingly ſubmit to it, though terrible to Nature; but bleſſed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the Sting; ſo that I look upon it without Terror. Death is a Debt, and a due Debt; and it hath pleaſed God to make me ſo good a Huſband, that I am come to pay it, before it is due. I am not aſhamed of that Cauſe for which I die, but rather rejoice that I am thought worthy to ſuffer in the Defence and Cauſe of God's true Church, my lawful King, the Liberty of the Subject, and Privilege of Parliaments: Therefore I hope none of my Alliance and Friends will be aſhamed of it; it is ſo far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raiſing it one Story higher. Neither was I ſo prodigal of Nature, as to throw away my Life, but have uſed (though none but honourable and honeſt) Means to preſerve it.

Theſe unhappy Times indeed have been very fatal to my Family: Two of my Brothers already ſlain, and myſelf going to the Slaughter: It is God's Will, and I humbly ſubmit to that Providence.

I muſt render an Acknowledgment of the great Civilities that I have received from this City of *Exon*, and ſome Perſons of Quality, and for their plentiful Proviſion made for the Priſoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his Favour towards us, in particular to myſelf; and I deſire him to preſent my due Reſpects to the Protector, and though he had no Mercy for myſelf, yet that he would have Reſpect to my Family.

I am now ſtripping off my Cloaths to fight a Duel with Death; but my Saviour hath pulled out the Sting of this mine Enemy, by making himſelf a Sacrifice

crifice for me: And truly I do not think that Man deſerving of one Drop of his Blood, that will not ſpend all for him in ſo good a Cauſe.

God Almighty preſerve my lawful Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, from the Hands of his Enemies, and break down the Wall of Pride and Rebellion, which ſo long hath kept him from his juſt Rights. God preſerve his Royal Mother, and all his Majeſty's Royal Brethren, and incline their Hearts to ſeek after him; God incline the Hearts of all true *Engliſhmen* to ſtand up as one Man to bring in the King, and redeem themſelves, and this poor Kingdom, out of its more than *Egyptian* Slavery.

As I have now put off theſe Garments of Cloth, ſo I hope I have put off my Garments of Sin, and have put on the Robes of Chriſt's Righteouſneſs here, which will bring me to the Enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.

Then he kneeled down, and kiſſed the Block, and ſaid thus: I commit my Soul to God my Creator and Redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my laſt Gaſping. Hear my Prayer, and the Prayers of all good People. I thank thee, O God, for all thy Diſpenſations towards me.

Then he deſired to ſee the Axe, and kiſſing it, ſaid, I am like to have a ſharp Paſſage of it, but my Saviour hath ſweetened it unto me.

Glory be to God on high: On Earth Peace: Goodwill towards Men. And the Lord have Mercy upon my poor Soul. Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the Block, after ſome private Ejaculations, he gave the Headſman a Sign with his Hand, who at one Blow ſevered his Head from his Body.

An

An Account of Sir Henry Slingsby, *with his Behaviour on* Tower-hill, *where he was beheaded*, June 8, 1658.

SIR *Henry Slingsby* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Yorkſhire*, and was return'd to ſerve as Member in the Long Parliament, where he ſat till the Troubles began; and having no Relation to, or Dependence upon the Court, he was ſwayed only by his Conſcience to deteſt their violent Proceedings. He was a Perſon of good Underſtanding, but of a melancholy Diſpoſition, and of few Words; and when he could ſtay no longer with a good Conſcience in their Councils, in which he never concurred, he went into his Country, and joined with the firſt that took up Arms for the King; and when the War was ended, he remained ſtill in his own Houſe, prepared and diſpoſed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt; and having a good Fortune, and a general Reputation, had a greater Influence upon the People, than they who talk'd more and louder.

On Suſpicion of ſome Deſigns againſt the Uſurper, into which he had been trapann'd, they kept him two Years Priſoner at *Hull*, and was now brought up to the *Tower*, for fear they might not make a ſufficient Diſcovery of the new Plot. They had againſt him Evidence enough (beſides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the firſt aſſaulting it) that he had contriv'd, and contracted with ſome Officers in *Hull*, for the Delivery of one of the Block-houſes to the Service of the King; nor did he care to defend himſelf againſt the Accuſation, but rather acknowledg'd and juſtify'd his Aſſertion, and own'd his Loyalty to the King, with very little Compliment or Ceremony to the preſent Powers, who were reſolved to cut him off, notwithſtanding the very great Interceſſion that was

uſed

uſed to preſerve him; for he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who engaged his Wife, and all his new Allies, to intercede for him, but without Effect.

On *Tueſday* the 8th of *June*, 1658, he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, where he firſt fell upon his Knees, and prayed privately to himſelf for a ſhort Time; then ſtanding up, with a low Voice he addreſs'd himſelf to Mr. Sheriff *Robinſon*, telling him, what he had to ſay, he would ſpeak to him, which was to this Effect:

That he had received a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garriſon of *Hull*; but ſaid, all that he did in that Buſineſs, he was drawn into by others.

That the Officers of that Garriſon did believe he had ſome greater Deſign in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the Bottom; but what he ſpake to them in private, was brought into Evidence againſt him. He likewiſe ſaid, that he did no more than any Perſon would have done, that was ſo brought on.

He did confeſs, that he did deliver a Commiſſion, as it was charged againſt him; but ſaid, that it was an old Commiſſion; and what he meant was well known to himſelf; but what Conſtruction others had made of it, might appear by his preſent Condition.

He diſcovered little Senſe of Sorrow, or Fear of Death; but ſaid, he was ready to ſubmit, or Words to the like Purpoſe. Then he addreſs'd himſelf to private Prayer again, and kneeling down at the Block, prayed privately for a ſhort Space: Then laying his Head upon the Block, and the Sign being given, the Executioner ſevered his Head from his Body at one Blow, which was immediately received by his Friends, and put into a Coffin, and removed into a cloſe Coach near the Place.

The

The Manner of the Execution of the Reverend Doctor John Hewit, *on the ſame Scaffold*, June 8, 1658; *together with his laſt dying Speech and Prayers before his Death.*

DOctor *Hewit* was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the Troubles broke out. He lived in *Oxford*, and in the Army, till the End of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with good Applauſe in a little Church, *viz.* St. *Gregory*'s, by St. *Paul*'s, in *London*; where, by the Affection of the Pariſh, he was admitted, ſince he was enough known to be notoriouſly under the Brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* marry'd *Cromwell*'s Daughter (who had uſed ſecretly to frequent his Church) after the Ceremony of the Time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the Order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady to uſe their utmoſt Credit with the Protector to preſerve his Life, but all in vain; for the Uſurper was inexorable, and, by this Inſtance of his Severity upon a Clergyman, was deſirous that the Churchmen, whom he look'd upon to be his mortal Enemies, ſhould ſee what they were to truſt to, if they ſtood in Need of his Mercy.

His greateſt Crime was, collecting and ſending Money to the King, beſides having given Money to ſome Officers. When he was brought to the Bar, he refuſed to plead, and ſpoke only againſt the Illegality of the Court; which, upon better Information, and before the Judgment was pronounced againſt him, he deſired to retract, and would have put himſelf upon his Tryal (it being believed by many, that if he had pleaded, he might have been acquitted, ſince, in truth, he had never been with the King at *Cologne*, or *Bruges*, with which he was charged in the Indictment) but

they refuſed to admit him; and ſo Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him, which accordingly he underwent with great Chriſtian Courage on the 8th of *June*, 1658.

Being come upon the Scaffold, together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmſley*, and Dr. *Barwick*, he fell upon his Knees, and prayed privately for the ſpace of a Quarter of an Hour; after which he prayed audibly for a longer Time; and then riſing, he addreſſed himſelf to the People in the following Speech.

I Am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels; and I hope God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much Pity, and great Mercy and Compaſſion; and the more, becauſe I am now come to that End that his own Son came into the World to, to bear Witneſs to the Truth: He himſelf ſaid, For this End was I born, for this Cauſe came I into the World, that I ſhould bear Witneſs to the Truth: I was brought into the World (the Chriſtian World) for to bear Witneſs to the Truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian: I was brought into the World (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; bleſſed be his Name for that Honour and Dignity: And I came into the World to die more immediately for the Teſtimony of Jeſus, which God hath now called me to.

I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all thoſe that occaſioned the Charge to be drawn up againſt me, to give ſuch unjuſt Things againſt me: I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all thoſe that, upon ſo ſlender and ſmall Grounds, adjudged me to die, taking Advantage of ſuch ſimple Ignorance as I was in. And I had, at the very Beginning of my Pleading, engaged their Honours, no Advantage ſhould be taken againſt me to my Prejudice, inaſmuch as I underſtood nothing of the Law. And having

having heard that a Man, in the Nicety of the Law, might be loſt in the Severity thereof, merely for ſpeaking a Word out of ſimple Ignorance, I made it my Prayer to them, that no Advantage might be taken againſt me to the Prejudice of my Perſon: And there was to me a ſeeming Conſent; for the Preſident told me, there ſhould be no Advantage taken againſt me; and, upon theſe Conſiderations, I am afraid there was too great Uncharitableneſs. But I pray God forgive them from the very Bottom of my Soul; and I deſire that even thoſe that ſhed my Blood, may have the Bowels of the God of Mercy ſhed for them.

It is fit however I ſhould give you ſomewhat as concerning myſelf, as I am a Chriſtian, and as I am a Clergyman. Firſt, as I am a Chriſtian; I thank God as I was baptized to the Holy Church, ſo I was baptiz'd to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is, the Church of *England*, which I dare ſay, for Purity of Doctrine, and orderly Diſcipline, till a ſad Reformation had ſpoiled the Face of the Church, and made it a *Quære* whether it were a Church or no; I ſay, it was more purely Divine and Apoſtolical, than any other Doctrine or Church in the Chriſtian World, whether National, Claſſical, or Congregational: And I muſt tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, ſo I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and ſhall give a moſt juſt Confeſſion of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am ſo a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schiſms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively ſo, that as I hold Communion with, ſo I love and honour all Chriſtians in the World, that love the ſame JESUS in Sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with thoſe Truths that are abſolutely neceſſary, and clearly demonſtrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Teſtament, though in Charity diſſenting from ſome others that are not ne-

ceſſary. And I, as I am thus a Chriſtian, hope for Salvation thro' the Merits of Chriſt Jeſus; his Blood I rely on, his Merits I truſt, to the Salvation of my own Soul; tho' to this Faith good Works are neceſſary; not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious by Chriſt's Death; by his All-ſufficiency, by his Satisfaction, and his Righteouſneſs, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than defiled Rags.

They talk of ſomething of a Plot, and a treaſonable Deſign, and that I had a great Intereſt in the Knowledge and Practice thereof, and that, for the ſaving my Life, I would have diſcovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I hope my Converſation hath not been ſuch here in this City, where I have been a long Time very well known, as to make one imagine I ſhould intermeddle in ſuch an Action, and go ſo contrary to the Practice of my Profeſſion: And I hope there are none ſo uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a Knowledge of that Deſign.

Here I muſt come to Particulars, for a Plot of having a Deſign upon the City of *London*, for the Firing of it. I ſo much tremble at the Thought of the Thing that ſhould have been done, as they ſay, for the carrying on ſuch a Deſign (if my Heart deceive me not) had I known it, I ſo much abhor the Thing, I ſhould have been the firſt Diſcoverer of it: Nor ever had I Correſpondency or Meetings with ſuch Perſons as would have carried on ſuch a Deſign. It is ſaid likewiſe, I entertained the Earl, the Marquis of *Ormond:* To my Remembrance I never ſaw the Face of that honourable Perſon in my Life. It is ſaid, one Lord's Day I did preach at *St. Gregory*'s, and the next Lord's Day I was at *Bruſſels* or *Bruges*, and kiſs'd the King's Hand and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Inſtructions from him. This I ſhall ſay, For theſe three Years laſt paſt together, I have not been ſixty Miles from *London*; and I think it is ſomewhat farther to either of thoſe Places

Places than threeſcore Miles. It is ſaid that I kept Correſpondence with one *Mallory* and *Biſhop:* They are Perſons whoſe Names I have heard of, but never ſaw their Faces; and to my Knowledge I do not know that they know me; nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their Names. And whoſoever elſe hath ſuggeſted ſuch Things again me, I know not.

His Highneſs was pleaſed to tell me, *I was like a flaming Torch in the Midſt of a Sheaf of Corn:* He meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to ſet the City on Fire by Sedition, and Combuſtions, and promoting Deſigns. Here truly I do ſay, and have it from many of thoſe who are Judges of the Hight Court, that upon Examination of the Buſineſs they have not found me a Meddler at all in theſe Affairs. And truly I muſt needs ſay therefore, that it was a very uncharitable Act in them (whoſoever they were) that brought ſuch Accuſation againſt me, and irritated his Highneſs againſt me. I will not ſay it was Malice, it might be Zeal, but it was raſh Zeal which cauſed me to be ſentenced to this Place: The God of Mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly, as I am a Member of the Community, on whoſe Behalf I have been ſpeaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himſelf did for his Diſciples, when he was to be taken from them; he bleſſed them, and aſcended up to Heaven. My Truſt is in the Mercy of the moſt High, I ſhall not miſcarry; and however my Days are ſhortened by this unexpected Doom, and I ſhall be brought untimely to the Grave, I cannot go without my Prayer for a Bleſſing upon all the People of this Land, and cannot but bleſs them all in the Name of God, and beſeech God to bleſs them in all their Ways, and his Bleſſing be upon them.

Let

Let us pray.

O Moſt glorious Lord God, thou whoſe Dwelling is ſo far above the higheſt Heavens, that thou humbleſt thyſelf but to look upon the Things that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, and thou doſt whatſoever thou wilt both in Heaven, in Earth, in the Sea, and in all deep Places: Let thy mighty Hand, and out-ſtretch'd Arm, O Lord, be the Defence of me, and all other thy Servants; thy Mercy and Loving-kindneſs in Jeſus Chriſt our Salvation, thy true and holy Word our Inſtruction, thy Grace and Holy Spirit our Comfort and Conſolation, to the End, and in the End, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

The Execution of Col. Aſhton, *in* Tower-ſtreet, *Mr.* Betley, *in* Cheapſide, *and Mr.* Stacey, *at the* Royal Exchange, *in* July 1658.

I Come now to the laſt of thoſe who ſuffered under *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation; who, not contented with thoſe inhuman Butcheries which have been hitherto related, was reſolved once more to exerciſe his Tyranny, and take another Fill of Loyal Blood; in order to which, ſeveral who had been apprehended on Suſpicion of ſome Deſigns againſt his Highneſs, were brought to the Bar, *viz.* Col. *Edward Aſhton*, Mr. *John Betley*, Mr. *Edward Stacey*, with ſeveral others, who received Sentence of Death; and that the Impreſſion upon the Citizens might be the greater, the three above-mentioned Sufferers, with all Circumſtances of Rigour and Severity, were ordered to be drawn,

drawn, hang'd, and quartered in ſeveral great Streets of the City; and accordingly, Colonel *Aſhton* was executed in *Tower-ſtreet*, the 2d of *July*, in the Year 1658. And Mr. *Betley* the ſame Day in *Cheapſide*; at whoſe Death happened a Thing ſomewhat ſtrangely remarkable; for having hung almoſt a Quarter of an Hour, and thought to be dead, he pull'd off his Cap, and look'd upon the People, to their great Surprize: Two Days after, Mr. *Edward Stacey* was hang'd againſt the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill*. But now all Men appeared ſo nauſeated with Blood, and ſo tired with ſuch abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it beſt to pardon the reſt who were condemn'd, or rather to reprieve them; being himſelf ſoon after ſummoned to appear before the *Great Tribunal*, where Juſtice will be impartially diſtributed, Right done to thoſe who have ſuffered Wrong; and the greateſt of Tyrants find themſelves as accountable for what they have committed, as the meaneſt of thoſe whom they have oppreſſed.

AN
Hiſtorical Regiſter
OF THE
LORDS, KNIGHTS, and GENTLEMEN,

Who were ſlain in Defence of their King and Country, during the Unnatural Rebellion, begun in 1641.

Greater Love than this no Man hath, than that one lay down his Life for his Friends. John xv. 13.

Lords and Earls.

Robert, Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the Army, who was a Man of great Honour, and ſpent the Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad; at laſt appearing in Behalf of his Majeſty, at the Head of the Army at *Edge-Hill*, *Oct.* 23, 1642, with a Pike in his Hand, and too prodigal of his Perſon, having received eighteen Wounds, and oppreſſed with Number, was obliged to yield to his Enemies, and the next Day, for want of due Care, to Death; and though the King's Army was then victorious, yet it ſtruck no little Damp upon their Conqueſt,

When on Edge-hill *the noble* Lindſey *dy'd,*
Whilſt Victory lay bleeding by his Side.

2. *George*

2. *George* Lord D'*Aubigny*, a Gentlemen of great Hopes, and clear Courage, appearing likewiſe in the ſame Cauſe at *Edge-hill*, was killed in the firſt Charge with the Horſe.

3. *Spencer*, Earl of *Northampton*, was killed in attempting to ſecure *Litchfield* for the King, on *Hopton-heath*, near *Stafford*, March 18, 1643.

4. The noble Earl of *Denbigh*, at the taking of *Bromicham*, April 5, 1643.

5. The Marquis *de Vieville*, a Native of *France*, who, at the Fight of *Aubourne Chace*, near *Newbury*, behaved himſelf moſt gallantly, and was ſlain there, Sept. 17, 1643.

6. The Earl of *Sunderland*, putting himſelf in the King's Troop, Sept. 20, 1643, the Day the Battle of *Newbury* was fought, before they came to charge, was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

7. The Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had charged and routed a Body of the Enemy's Horſe, at *Newbury* aforeſaid, and coming careleſly back, was, by ſome of the ſcatter'd Troopers, run thro' the Body with a Sword, of which he died within an Hour.

8. The Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, was killed at *Newbury*, in the four and thirtieth Year of his Age, very much lamented by Perſons of all Ranks, but eſpecially the Learned.

9. The Earl of *Kingſton*, Father to the Marquis of *Dorcheſter*.

10. The Lord *Grandiſon*, who received his Death's Wound at *Briſtol*, July 24, 1643, after he had charg'd thro' and thro' the Enemy, two Horſes killed under him, and four wounded.

11. *John* Lord *Stuart*, March 29, 1654.

12. The Lord *Cary*, eldeſt Son of *Henry Cary* Earl of *Monmouth*, was ſlain at *Marſton-Moor*, July 2, 1644.

13. The Earl of *Litchfield*, kill'd on *Rowton-Heath*, near *Cheſter*, Sept. 29, 1643.

14. The Lord *Francis Villiers*, taken Priſoner, and refuſing Quarter, at *Comb-Park*, was ſlain there, July 7, 1648, aged 19 Years.

15. The Lord *Widdrington*, Preſident of the Council of War under my Lord of *Newcaſtle*, in the North, and Commander in Chief of *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, and *Rutlandſhire*, under Prince *Rupert*, loſt his Life at *Wigan*, in *Lancaſhire*, Aug. 2, 1650.

16. Sir *Henry Conſtable*, Lord Viſcount *Dunbar*, ſlain at *Scarborough-Caſtle*.

17. Baron *D'Auneau*, a *Dutchman*, ſlain at *Nottingham*.

18. Duke *Hamilton*, unfortunately ſlain in the Fight at *Worceſter*, of which Wounds he ſhortly after died.

Knights and Baronets.

1. SIR *Edmund Verney*, Standard-bearer to his Majeſty at *Edge-Hill*, and valiantly fighting under it, was ſlain in that Charge, when *Balfour*, with a Reſerve of Horſe, unobſerv'd and ſuddenly broke into thoſe Regiments.

2. Sir *Lawdy*, who, in Febr. 1642, commanded a Party of his Majeſty's Forces from *Hereford*, and encountered the Rebels of *Glouceſter*, at *Cover*, on the Borders of that County.

3. Sir *Bevil Greenvill*, July 5, 1643.

4. Sir *Nicolas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevanion*, at *Briſtol*, July 24, 1643.

5. Sir *Anthony Maunſell*, who died in the Bed of Honour at *Newbury* firſt Battle, Sept. 20, 1643.

6. Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and Sir *George Bowls*, both ſlain near *Horncaſtle*, in *Lincolnſhire*, in Oct. 1643.

7. Sir

7. Sir *Henry Howard*, and Sir *William Savile*, Governor of *Sheffield*, both ſlain on *Adderton-Heath*, in *Yorkſhire*, the laſt Day of June, 1643.

8. Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clark*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raiſed and armed their Regiments at their own Charge, and both ſlain at *Cropredy-Bridge*, June 29, 1644.

9. Sir *John Smith*, Banneret of *England* (who reſcued the King's Standard from the Rebels at *Edge-hill*) loſt his Life in the unfortunate Battle of *Alresford*, in *Hampſhire*, March 29, 1654.

10. Sir *Thomas Metham*, Sir *William Lampton*, Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *Charles Slingſby*, and Sir *Francis Dacres*, all ſealed their Affection to the Royal Cauſe with their laſt Blood, in that great Fight between Prince *Rupert* and the Parliamentarians at *Marſton-Moor*, July 2, 1644, wherein above eight thouſand loſt their Lives, and was indeed the greateſt of all the War.

11. Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, ſlain in the ſecond Battle at *Newbury*, Oct. 27, 1644.

12. Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, near *Abingdon*.

13. Sir *Michael Earnely*, an old Soldier, bred in the Low-Country Wars, was ſlain at the Surprizal of *Shrewſbury*, Feb. 22, 1644.

14. Sir *John Girlington*, ſlain near *Melton Mowbray*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, Feb. 25, 1644, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* routed a great Body of the Rebels, conſiſting of, at leaſt, twelve hundred Horſe and Dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Roſſiter*, a *Scot*, about thirty of them were killed, forty-ſix taken Priſoners, with four Colours of Horſe, and but little Loſs on the King's Side.

15. Sir *William Maynwaring*, and Sir *Henry Fletcher*, both ſlain at *Weſt-Cheſter*, Feb. 3, 1645.

16. Sir *John Digby*, a *Somerſetſhire* Gentleman, July 10, 1645, received his Death's Wound in a gallant Engagement at *Langport*, in that County, whereof he not long after died.

17. Sir *William Crofts* loſt his Life near *Stokeſy*, in *Shropſhire*, June, 1645, whither his Majeſty's Forces were obliged to retreat, with the Loſs of this gallant Gentleman, and ſome others.

18. Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, ſlain in *Buckinghamſhire*, in 1643

19. Sir *Richard Crane*, ſlain at a Salley out of *Briſtol*, 1645.

20. Sir *Peter Brown*, of *Kiddington*, in *Oxfordſhire*, Sir *Thomas Dalliſon*, a *Lancaſhire* Gentleman, of great Service in Prince *Rupert*'s Brigade, Sir *Richard Cave*, who were all ſlain in the unfortunate Battle at *Naſeby*, June 14, 1645

21. Sir *Bernard Aſtley*, an eminent and ſtout Commander in his Majeſty's Army, after admirable Services done in ſix Fights, and eight Sieges, died of his Wounds received in the laſt-mentioned Salley out of *Briſtol.*

22. Sir *Richard Hutton*, a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation; ſlain Oct. 5, 1645, at *Sherburn*, in *Yorkſhire.*

23. Sir *Francis Carnaby*, was ſlain at *Sherburn*, having Time enough to riſe on his Knees, and cry, *Lord, have Mercy upon me, bleſs and proſper his Majeſty.*

24. Sir *Bryan Stapleton*, ſlain Sept. 24, 1645, at *Routon Heath*, near *Weſt-Cheſter*, were five thouſand of his Majeſty's Horſe ſuſtained a Defeat by a greater Body of the Rebels.

25. Sir *Nicolas Forteſcue*, a Knight of *Malta*, ſlain in *Lancaſhire*, whoſe Worth is to be more regarded by others, the leſs he took Notice of it himſelf; a Perſon of

of ſo dextrous an Addreſs, that when he came into Notice, he came into Favour; when he enter'd the Court, he had the Chamber, yea, the Cloſet, of a Prince; a Gentleman that did much in his Perſon, and, as he would ſay, *Let Reputation do the reſt.*

26. Sir *Troilus Turbeville*, Captain-Lieutenant of his Majeſty's Life-guard, ſlain in the King's March from *Newark* to *Oxford*; whoſe Bounty to his Soldiers may be compar'd to that of the Lord *Audley*'s formerly to his Eſquires, when he beſtowed the Penſion of five hundred Marks, which he had received from the Black Prince, upon them; and being queſtioned for it by the Prince, he ſaid, Theſe have done me long and faithful Service, without whoſe Aſſiſtance (being a ſingle Man) I could have done but little; beſides, the fair Eſtate left me by my Anceſtors, enableth me freely to ſerve your Highneſs.

27. Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, jun. was killed near *Ludlow*.

28. Sir *Richard Goodhill*, wounded in *Wales*, and died at *Worceſter*.

29. Sir *Lodowick Wyer*, a *Dutchman*, ſlain at *Banbury*.

30. Sir *Nicolas Kemiſh*, of *Kevenmably* in *Caermarthen*, ſlain at *Chepſtow*, in *Monmouthſhire*.

31. Sir ——— *Compton*, a Gentleman of known Worth and Loyalty, who engaging with thoſe gallant Perſons, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Lord *Capel*, &c. at *Colcheſter*, for the Reſtauration of his Majeſty, was ſlain upon a Salley out againſt the *Fairfaxians*, who beſieg'd the Town in July 1648.

32. Sir *William Vaughan*, a Perſon of excellent Conduct and Service in *South-Wales* and *Cheſhire*, who for the brave Sallies he made from *Shrawardling* Caſtle, was called the *Devil of Shrawardling*; and commanded *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and the Borders of *North-Wales*, for his Majeſty; till being over-power'd and defeated by *Pointz*, he made his Eſcape to *Ragland*, and

and from thence to *Ireland*; where having formed a conſiderable Army, and encamp'd them under the Marquis of *Ormond*, before *Dublin*, by the Neglect of the Engineer who had the Charge of the Guards, he was ſurpriz'd; and fighting deſperately to gain the whole Army Time to rally, was killed.

33. Sir *Arthur Aſton*, loſt his Life in *Ireland*.

34. Sir *Edmund Varney*, a Gentleman whoſe Worth made him alike beloved and admired; his faithful Service being often approved in Defence of his Majeſty; was one of thoſe gallant Gentlemen, whoſe Merits render'd him odious to *Cromwell*, and by thoſe bloody Cut-throats butcher'd at *Drogheda*.

35. Sir *John Brown*, a Major-General of the *Scots*, at ſuch time as King *Charles* II. was among them, who with a Party of Horſe encountering with *Lambert*, in *Fyfe*, was there wounded, and quickly after died.

Beſides the above-mentioned Sufferers, there were forty-ſix Colonels; twenty-ſeven Lieutenant Colonels; forty Serjeant Majors; ninety-one Captains; nineteen Inferior Officers; and fifty Gentlemen Voluntiers, ſlain in the Defence of their King and Country, duing the unnatural Rebellion.

THE

Loyal Confeſſors:

IN A

Brief Account of the moſt Eminent Sufferers, by Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or in Eſtate, for the Cauſe of his Sacred Majeſty.

THE Lord *Finch*, of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a Perſon whoſe Abilities, and Loyalty to his Sacred Majeſty, render'd him obnoxious to the unruly Rabble. He lived in Baniſhment and Exile from his native Country for ſixteen Years, and then returned with more Credit and Honour than he was forced from it, dying in the Love and good Opinion of all honeſt People; his faithful Service to his Sovereign being all the Charge and Accuſation they had againſt him.

Mr. Secretary *Windebanck*, a Perſon of approved Worth and Loyalty, againſt whom the Darts of popular Fury were in thoſe Times of Diſtraction eſpecially aimed; which to avoid, he purſued the ſame Courſe with the Lord *Finch*, and died in the Time of his Abſence abroad.

The Right Reverend Father in God, *Matthew Wren*, Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, who with eleven more of that

that ſacred Function, were committed to the *Tower*, in the Year of our Lord 1641. Eighteen Years did this reverend Father ſuffer Impriſonment in the *Tower*, having in all that Time no Charge exhibited againſt him; but was at laſt reſtored to his Liberty by the Means of the renowned Duke of *Albemarle*, and was afterwards re-eſtabliſhed in his former Dioceſe, to the Honour and Support of this reſtored Church.

Religious Dr. *Featly*, one moſt eminent for Learning and Piety; being, by an Order of Parliament, committed to *Peter-Houſe*, where he languiſhed in much Pain and Miſery about a Year and a half, and was afterwards (Sickneſs increaſing) through much Importunity, removed to *Chelſea* College, as a more wholſome Air; but he was ſo far ſpent by their barbarous Miſuſage of him, that within three Weeks after his coming thither, he died.

Sir *Robert Heath*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, a Perſon much honoured for his Integrity and Moderation, and as conſpicuous for his ſtedfaſt Loyalty, as the Sun in the Firmament in a ſerene Day. He abandoned his Country, and fled into *France*, where living in great Grief and Anxiety of Mind, to behold the Ruins of his King and Country, he fell into a Diſeaſe, and died thereof, at *Caen*, in *Normandy*, not long after the King's Death.

Judge *Bartlett*, whoſe Innocency, defied their Threats, and, like a Rock, ſtood in Oppoſition againſt that Torrent of Rebellion; but yet was forced at laſt to yield to their Tyranny in his Body, tho' his Mind they could not conquer.

That Heart of Oak, and Pillar of the Law, Judge *Jenkins*, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices in *Wales*, whoſe Anagram is *David Jenkins*, *Kains did envy*. He was for ſome Miſdemeanour of Loyalty brought to the Bar in Chancery, where he denied the Authority of the Court, becauſe their Seal was contrary to Law, as well

well as their Commiſſion; and ſo baffled thoſe puny Judges, that inſtead of a further Proſecution there, they committed him Priſoner to the *Tower*, where he was kept a cloſe Priſoner a long Time, where wearied of him by his indefatigable Induſtry in the King's Cauſe, he was removed from thence to *Windſor*, where he continued in the ſame Quality, and of the ſame Mind, till without Thanks to them he was permitted the Liberty of the Town; and ſurvived to ſee the Return of Majeſty, the Reſtoration of the Laws, and the Liberty of the Subjects reſtored to them again in as ample a Manner as it was before.

That valiant, loyal Son of *Mars*, Sir *Ralph* (afterwards Lord) *Hopton*, whoſe Courage and Prudence in the Management of the King's Affairs (for whom he commanded in the *Weſt*) did gain him the Approbation of an expert Captain, and gallant Commander, having his Endeavours crowned with many notable Succeſſes. After his Diſbanding in *Cornwall*, Rebellion then flouriſhing with a high Hand, he took Shipping with the Prince, and with him ſailed into the Iſland of *Scilly*, and from thence into the Realm of *France*, following the King's hard Fortune in his Peregrinations, till Death in the End put a Period to his Travels, and, after a troubleſome Life, he found a quiet Grave at the City of *Paris* in *France*.

Mr. Secretary Sir *Edward Nicolas*, who conſtantly and faithfully adhered to his Majeſty from the Beginning of his Troubles, being a great Prop to the Royal Cauſe, by his prudent Counſels, and great Abilities in the Management of the moſt difficult Affairs, and afterwards continued the ſame Service and Office to his Majeſty King *Charles* II. in all his Troubles and Negotiations abroad, having with great Faithfulneſs and Prudence manag'd that Employment all along, to the happy Effect of his Majeſty's glorious Reſtitution.

Sir *Edward Hide*, ſince the Right Hon. Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor to his Majeſty King *Charles* II. of whoſe Worth and Abilities to ſpeak, were to cry out, *The Sun ſhines*; whoſe Counſels the Royal Martyr had in eſpecial Eſteem, and therefore made him his Boſom Favourite, which cauſed ſuch a Hatred againſt him by the Faction at Weſtminſter, as excluded him out of their ſpurious Act of Mercy: But eſcaping their mercileſs Cruelty, by a timely Avoidance of the Land, thro' his prudent Carriage of Affairs, together with the providential Mercy of God, he ſurvived to ſee thoſe Enemies of Monarchy and Regal Government brought to a juſt Trial, and himſelf advanced to ſuch a Pitch of Honour, as to ſee the Laws adminiſtred in their right Form, and the Subjects to enjoy the juſt Privileges of them.

The Lord Wilmot, afterwards by King *Charles* II. made Earl of *Rocheſter*, died a little before the King's Reſtitution, not ſurviving to participate of thoſe Grandeurs, whereof his Abilities would have made him a deſerved Sharer.

The Right Rev. Dr. *Sheldon*, whoſe Deſerts and Sufferings advanced him, upon the Reſtoration of his Majeſty, to be Lord Biſhop of *London*.

The religiouſly loyal Dr. *Hammond*, a conſtant Aſſertor of our *Engliſh* Liturgy, and one whoſe Abilities rendered him dear to King *Charles* the Martyr; to whom Impriſonment was no Stranger, during the Time Rebellion was rampant.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, afterwards Lord *Langdale*, whoſe Abilities in Martial Affairs, would have deified him the God of Battle, tho' in our Times his conſtant Loyalty had render'd him to a higher Pitch of Honour, being deſervedly accounted a Pilot for all noble and gallant Spirits, whereby to direct and ſteer their Courſe.

Mr. *Roger L'Eſtrange*, of whoſe Worth and Abilities to ſpeak, would, to an intelligible Reader, appear ſuper-

ſuperfluous, like the Labours of him who wrote a whole Volume in the Praiſe of *Hercules*, whom no Man diſpraiſed. This loyal Gentleman, for his Endeavours for reducing *Lynn* to their Obedience to his Majeſty, ſuffered the utmoſt Malice of a prevailing Faction, even to Condemnation, beſides a long Impriſonment in *Newgate*; yet could not their Tyranny ſo much depreſs his Spirits, but his Pen was ſtill a conſtant Aſſertor of the Royal Cauſe; in which he continued his beſt Endeavours unto and until the happy Reſtitution of his Sacred Majeſty, by whom he was look'd upon as one of the Agents of his Reſtoration.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Norwich*, a Gentleman of ſuch Worth and Abilities, that this Mite will ſignify nothing to thoſe rare and excellent Gifts both of Learning and Wiſdom, wherewith he was adorned.

Sir *John Stowel*, a *Somerſetſhire* Gentleman, whoſe Loyalty rendered him ſufficiently famous, was brought to their High Court of Injuſtice, where he very hardly eſcaped with Life; his great Eſtate, amounting to near ſeven or eight thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, making him liable to any Treaſon thoſe incorrigible Traitors could ſuggeſt againſt him; he was from thence remanded to the Tower, but ſurvived to enjoy again his own Eſtate, and to ſee many of thoſe hang'd, who would have us'd their utmoſt Spight for the Enjoyment of his Fortunes.

Sir *John Berkenhead*, a Gentleman whoſe Worth and Deſerts are too high for me to delineate; he was a conſtant Aſſertor of his Majeſty's Cauſe in its loweſt Extremities, and ſuffered for the ſame ſeveral Impriſonments.

Dr. *Barwick*, a reverend Orthodox Divine, who for his Loyalty was, by an Order of the Long Parliament, committed Priſoner to the Tower, where he lay until ſuch Time as he was near famiſhed. This reverend Divine ſurvived to ſee the flouriſhing again of Epiſcopacy, and was by his ſacred Majeſty made Dean of St.

Paul's, in which Place he continued till the Month of *October*, 1644, when (like *Abraham*) he gathered to his Fathers, *a good Man, and full of Days.*

The valiant Earl of *Cleveland*, who gave undoubted Teſtimonies all along the War, of his unfeign'd Fidelity to the Royal Cauſe, ſo particularly at Worceſter, where he was, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands; ſuffering a tedious and cruel Impriſonment by thoſe barbarous Rebels, for the Teſtimonies of his Affections to his Royal Sovereign.

The Lord *Gerard*, (afterwards Captain of his Majeſty's Life-Guard) who all along the War bore a Part in the Calamities and Misfortunes of the King's Adventures.

Sir *John Owen*, that undaunted Piece of Welſh Loyalty, whoſe Endeavours for the King in that Country, were truly honourable, tho' not crowned with that Succeſs as ſuch a Cauſe merited. This loyal Gentleman was, at their High Court of Injuſtice, condemn'd to Death, together with Duke *Hamilton*, Lord *Capel*, *&c.* but by the Mercy of the Parliament (rare and wonderful)! he was reprieved.

The Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, Colonel *Far*, &c. Theſe heroick Perſons were all engaged in the Deſign at *Colcheſter*, where having ſuffer'd a ſharp and bitter Siege, after the Surrender of the Town, they had by the Barbarity of thoſe Rebels ſuffer'd Death, had not ſome of them made their Eſcapes, and the reſt given in ſuch Pleas as would have freed them out of the Hands of the moſt bloody Cannibal in the World.

The Right Honourable the Lord *Bellaſis*; ſo jealous were they over him, that he could not go or travel any where without a Paſs, or Safe-conduct, from the next Officer, to the Place of his Abode; which Reſtriction continued for many Years together, being beſides continually in Danger of being trapanned out

of

of his Life by the Wiles and Snares of his treacherous Enemies.

Colonel *John* and *William Aſhburnham* (the former ſo well known in our Annals for the conveying the King away from *Oxford)* both ſignally famous for their Endeavours in the Royal Cauſe, never free from Trouble and Moleſtation of the Regicides. Theſe loyal Brothers were, in the Concluſion, ſent by them to remote Caſtles and Iſlands, and there debarred of any Intercourſe or Correſpondence with their Friends.

Sir *Humphry Bennet*, an eminent Royaliſt, formerly a Brigadier in the King's Army, who at the Time of Colonel *Penruddock*'s riſing at *Saliſbury*, being of that Country, was ſeized and ſecured as a Partaker and Confederate with him, and for the ſame committed Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*, where he remained near three Years; but the Return of his Majeſty put an End to his Troubles.

The Right Honourable *John* Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*, an active Perſon againſt the Tyrannies of the Rump, and that Monſter of Nature, *Oliver Cromwell*, being really engaged in ſeveral Deſigns againſt him, for which he hardly eſcaped with his Life, being acquitted but by one ſaving Voice.

Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, who engaging in the ſame Deſign with the Lord *Mordaunt*, was by the Regicides deſigned for the Slaughter; but he ſo wiſely managed his Defence at their Bar of Injuſtice, that he eſcaped their Clutches, being fairly acquitted by thoſe bloody Juſtices.

Mr. *Chriſtopher Pitts*, a loyal, noble Gentleman, who was apprehended upon the ſame Buſineſs with my Lord *Mordaunt*, and committed Priſoner to *Newgate*; where, after Examination, having not found enough againſt him, to take away his Life, they would have made Uſe of him as a Witneſs againſt his Aſſociates; but his noble Spirit ſcorning ſuch Baſeneſs, refuſed ſo

to

to do; whereupon, after many vain Threats and Menaces, he was by their High Court condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and fined 1000 l. but by the happy Reſtauration of his Majeſty, he commenced his Freedom with that of the Kingdom's.

Mr. *William Garrent*, who for the ſame Buſineſs was try'd before that accurſed High Court, who would have, no doubt, deſigned him for the Slaughter, but that they failed in their Evidence; of which, it was thought, they relied on Mr. *Pitts*. He was with much ado acquitted, and ſoon after ſet at Liberty.

Henry Fryar, *John Summer*, and *Oliver Allen*, who were all three condemned at the aforeſaid Court of Juſtice, the firſt of them being brought to ſuffer in *Weſt-Smithfield*, where a Gibbet was erected; but being upon the Ladder, and ready to die, a Reprieve was produced, and he carried back again to the *Tower*, from whence, not long after, he was diſmiſſed: The other two were likewiſe drawn on Hurdles, the one to *Biſhopſgate*, and the other to *Gracechurch-Street*, the Places appointed for their Execution, but were both reprieved, and ſoon after freed.

The moſt noble Marquis of *Wincheſter*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Worceſter*, Heroes whoſe Deſerts require a better Character than I am able to beſtow upon them, and their Memories a more durable Regiſter than this little Breviary, having endured all the Diſcommodities of thoſe wretched Times amongſt them, *viz.* Impriſonment, Baniſhment, Diſtreſs, Deprivation of Eſtates, and all thoſe other Miſeries an inſulting Enemy could lay upon them, for the Duty they owed to God and their King, and the Preſervation of a good Conſcience.

The Right Honourable the Earls of *Oxford* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Herbert*, &c. who ſuffered Impriſonment in the *Tower*, upon a Suſpicion of a Riſing; from which afterwards, for want of good Proof, they were releaſed.

The

The Honourable Colonel *John Ruſſel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, a Perſon of unfeigned Fidelity and Gallantry, who ſerved his Majeſty in his Armies during all the War, and was a conſtant Sufferer for him all along afterwards in the Uſurper's Priſons, being, upon the leaſt Occaſion of Fear, ſure to be one of the firſt that was ſecured, and ſo continued toſſed from one Cuſtody to another, till ſuch time as his Majeſty's happy Return.

Sir *George Booth*, afterwards Lord *Delamere*, who, to free his Country from thoſe inſulting Tyrannies of the Rump, appeared in Arms againſt them in *Cheſhire*, and was proclaimed a Traitor, together with Major General *Egerton*, Colonel *Warden*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*; but being defeated by *Lambert*'s more numerous Forces, he fled in a Diſguiſe to *Newport-pagnel* in *Bedfordſhire*, where he was diſcovered, ſeized on, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*, his Eſtate ordered to be ſequeſtred and ſold, and Preparations made for his Tryal; which, had it gone on, he would, no doubt, have paid for it with his Life; but as when Thieves fall out, honeſt Men ſpeed the better, ſo the Diviſions betwixt that remaining Scum at *Weſtminſter*, and their Commander *Lambert*, through the Prudence and Loyalty of noble General *Monk*, brought in the Re-admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, by whom he was reſtored to his Liberty and Eſtate.

Sir *Thomas Middleton*, a Gentleman who had attempted much to the Reſtauration of his Majeſty, being engaged in the ſame Buſineſs with Sir *George Booth*, after the Defeat, he was forced to flee, being ſure to have ſuffered deeply, had he fallen into their Hands: He left *Chirk-caſtle*, his ſtately Manſion, to be defended by his Sons, which ſoon after was render'd to Colonel *Zanchy*; but the happy Reſtoration aforeſaid reſtored his Eſtate again to him, and him to the free and peaceable Poſſeſſion thereof.

Beſides

Beſides the unfortunate Sufferers already mentioned, ſeveral excellent Perſons were forced out of their Fellowſhips, and other Collegiate Emoluments in both Univerſities. And indeed the Calamity of the loyal and orthodox Clergy, might better be expreſſed by Sighs and Tears, than by Pen and Paper.

For the Honour of the City of *London*, we find Sir *Abraham Reynoldſon*, who ſo gallantly refuſed to proclaim the Act for aboliſhing Kingly Government, and was for the ſame committed to the Tower; Sir *John Gaire*, Alderman *Adams*, Sir *James Bunce*, who ſuffered much in their vaſt Eſtates; and Major-General *Brown*, who endured a tedious Impriſonment.

In the next Place, the martyr'd City of *Worceſter*, the Scene of ruin'd Loyalty, deſerves to be had in everlaſting Remembrance, the Citizens whereof being all Sufferers for the Royal Cauſe.

But ſhould I go about to enumerate all thoſe Perſons that ſuffered by Sequeſtration, Plunderings, and Rapines, my Task were infinite; I ſhall therefore refer every Particular of thoſe Sufferers to that great and general Day of Account, when their Enemies ſhall receive the Reward of their Fraud and Violence, and themſelves a juſt Recompence for all their Sufferings.

FINIS.

JOHN Bibl. Bodl. JOHNSON